March 27, 2006 49145 $3.95 U.S., $4.95 Canadian

FB ON ROSENBLATT

DAVE SHIFLETT ON THE FAT-FIGHTING BILL CLINTON

# NATIONAL REVIEW

# THE 'To Hell With Them' HAWKS

The rise, and the pitfalls, of a post-Bush foreign policy

RICHARD LOWRY

#BXNCMYG**********AUTO** 5-DIGIT 94301
#94301UZZ555BY003# 060107 R.A NTRU 704
RON UNZ P098
555 BRYANT ST # 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

www.nationalreview.com

# Help Us Change the Debate

Would you like to work in a fast-paced, free-market oriented environment where it pays to take the initiative, show your creativity, and work hard/play hard?

Berman and Company, a Washington DC based, award-winning public affairs firm specializing in research, communications and advertising, is expanding its staff in 2006. If you are interested in joining a dynamic team of libertarians, please consider one of the following positions:

## Senior Graphic Designer for In-House Art Department (Job Code: GRPH-0106)

Applicants must be enthusiastic and talented, have five years experience (some supervisory experience is a plus). Good sense of humor a must. Projects include print and web design, video editing and presentation development. Computer skills must include Illustrator, Indesign, Photoshop, and PowerPoint. Knowledge of Final Cut Pro, Flash and Dreamweaver preferred.

## Marketing Assistant
(Job Code: EXEC-0206)

Applicants should have a minimum of three years experience in marketing, development/fundraising or member recruitment. Experience in a for-profit environment is preferred. Must be extremely detail-oriented, organized, and able to manage multiple projects within a fast-paced, deadline-oriented environment. This individual will be responsible for the implementation of strategies designed to increase the firm's client base, including reaching out to targets, identifying prospects, and drafting customized fundraising letters.

## Labor Economist/Research Director
(Job Code: ECON-0106)

Applicants must have a demonstrated background in economics and be able to manage multiple research contracts, evaluate and critique quantitative research performed by others. Solid writing skills and the ability to communicate technical material to non-economists is required. Ideal candidate will have at least four years of work history, and possess a comfort level interacting with media. Advanced degree in relevant field a minimum, PhD with experience in labor and health economics a plus.

## Senior Researcher/Writer/Analyst
(Job Code: RES-0106)

Applicants must be able to produce original columns and articles for high-profile clients and have a demonstrated ability to utilize wit and humor to illustrate free-market ideas. We are looking for a talented, creative writer with a proven record of published work.

## Executive/Personal Assistant to the Founder/President (Job Code: EXEC-0106)

Applicants should consider themselves a "career EA" and have a minimum of five years experience supporting a senior partner, Member of Congress or other top-level executive. Duties will include scheduling phone and in-person meetings with clients, extensive travel arrangements and executive correspondence. This position requires persistence, diplomacy, multi-tasking, precision, and attention to details.

Required computer skills are: proficiency in Word, experience with Access and knowledge of Outlook. Experience with Excel would be helpful. A college degree, a history of increasing levels of responsibility in your past employment and experience in the private sector are also required.

## Staff Assistant
(Job Code: EXEC-0306)

Applicants must have college degree and previous office experience of at least one year (internships will count). This is an entry-level position that will include everything from general office support/administration to project work, with the potential for long-term growth. Interest in government/public affairs, public relations or communications is preferable.

---

If you are interested in any of these positions, please send resume, cover letter and samples of your work products to info@bermanco.com or P.O. Box 27414, Washington, DC 20006. (Please reference job code in the subject line or on the front of the envelope.) No calls, please.

**Berman *and* Company**

RESEARCH · COMMUNICATIONS · ADVERTISING

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MARCH 27, 2006 VOL. LVIII, NO. 5

# NATIONAL REVIEW

www.nationalreview.com

■ COVER STORY

## The 'To Hell with Them' Hawks

The "to hell with them" hawks are conservatives who are comfortable using force abroad, but have little patience for a deep entanglement with the Muslim world, which they consider unredeemable, or at least not worth the strenuous effort of trying to redeem. They want to detach Bush's Jacksonianism from his Wilsonianism. But the tendency is problematic and, in its own way, as naïve and unrealistic as Bush at his dreamiest. *By Richard Lowry*

Page 38

### ARTICLES

16 Living in the Real World *by Jonah Goldberg*
Everyone has to do it, including conservatives.

17 Run, Rudy, Run? *by Byron York*
The former New York mayor is a favorite, but not visible.

20 A Peek at the Books *by John J. Miller*
New regulations shed light on Big Labor.

24 Illegal Detour *by Ramesh Ponnuru*
Thinking reasonably about immigration.

26 Messin' with Texas *by Stephen Spruiell*
Tom DeLay's redistricting affair comes to the Supreme Court.

30 Why Wets Are All Wet *by John O'Sullivan*
Conservatives ought to run dry—i.e., as conservatives.

32 Curse of the Militias *by David Pryce-Jones*
What Balkanization has done to Iraq, Lebanon, and others.

34 Chief of the Fat Police *by Dave Shiflett*
Bill Clinton's new role.

38 The 'To Hell with Them' Hawks *by Richard Lowry*
And what's wrong with them.

43 Bolton at Bat *by Jay Nordlinger*
In February, the American ambassador was president of the Security Council.

### BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

47 Heavenly Read—*William F. Buckley Jr.* . . . Lapham Rising: A Novel, *by Roger Rosenblatt*

48 Jilted—*Kevin A. Hassett* . . . Impostor: How George W. Bush Bankrupted America and Betrayed the Reagan Legacy, *by Bruce Bartlett*

49 The Eugenicist Temptation—*Wesley J. Smith* . . . Better for All the World: The Secret History of Forced Sterilization and America's Quest for Racial Purity, *by Harry Bruinius*

52 Clash by Night—*Ross G. Douthat* . . . Earthly Powers: The Clash of Religion and Politics in Europe from the French Revolution to the Great War, *by Michael Burleigh*

54 An Inward Turn—*Roger Kimball* . . . Gentle Regrets: Thoughts from a Life, *by Roger Scruton*

56 City Desk: Walk the Talk—Richard Brookhiser on the pleasures, and purposes, of the salon.

### SECTIONS

2 Letters
4 The Week
15 Notes & Asides
45 The Long View
46 Help!
48 Poetry
58 On the Right
60 Happy Warrior

**COVER:** *Darren Gygi*

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 2006. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to NATIONAL REVIEW, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 8:00 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to NATIONAL REVIEW, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $59.00 a year (24 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# NATIONAL REVIEW

March 27 issue; printed March 9



EDITOR
Richard Lowry

*Senior Editors*
Richard Brookhiser / Jeffrey Hart
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones
*Managing Editor* Jay Nordlinger
*Washington Editor* Kate O'Beirne
*Literary Editor* Michael Potemra
*Executive Editors*
Dorothy McCartney / Christopher McEvoy
*National Political Reporter* John J. Miller
*White House Correspondent* Byron York
*Deputy Managing Editor* Jason Lee Steorts
*Art Director* Luba Kolomytseva
*Associate Editors*
Anthony Dick / Alston B. Ramsay
*Research Director* John J. Virtes
*Executive Secretary* Frances Bronson
*Assistant to the Editor* Erin Carden
*Editorial Associates*
Patricia B. Bozell / Elizabeth M. Fisher
Jane Buckley Smith
*Contributing Editors*
Robert H. Bork / John Derbyshire
W. H. von Dreele / Rod Dreher
David Frum / Roman Genn /
Jim Geraghty / Jonah Goldberg
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow
Mark R. Levin / Rob Long
David B. Rivkin Jr.

NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE
*Editor* Kathryn Jean Lopez
*Webmaster* Nathan Goulding
*Associate Editor* Maximilian Pakaluk

CHAIRMAN
Thomas L. Rhodes

EDITORS-AT-LARGE
Linda Bridges / Wm. F. Buckley Jr. (ret.) / John O'Sullivan

*Contributors*
Hadley Arkes / Baloo / Tom Bethell
James Bowman / Priscilla L. Buckley
Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Chester E. Finn Jr. / Neal B. Freeman
James Gardner / David Gelernter
George Gilder / Kevin A. Hassett
Charles R. Kesler / John Kiley
James Jackson Kilpatrick / David Klinghoffer
Anthony Lejeune / D. Keith Mano
Richard John Neuhaus / Michael Novak
Alan Reynolds / William A. Rusher
Tracy Lee Simmons / Terry Teachout
Taki Theodoracopulos / Ralph de Toledano
Vin Weber / Timothy J. Wheeler

*Assistant to the Publisher* Russell Jenkins
*Assistant to the CEO* Kevin Longstreet
*Assistant to the Chairman* Barbara Nowack
*Chief Financial Officer* James X. Kilbridge
*Accounting Manager* Galina Veygman
*Accountant* Irina Dynkevich
*Treasurer* Rose Flynn DeMaio
*Business Services*
Alex Batey / Elena Koly
*Circulation Director* Theresa Maloney
*Circulation Manager* Jason Ng



WORLD WIDE WEB http://www.nationalreview.com
MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 815-734-1232
WASHINGTON OFFICE 202-543-9226

ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330
*Executive Publisher* Scott F. Budd
*Advertising Representative* Jim Fowler
*Detroit Rep.* Joseph J. Colucci 248-626-9918

CEO
Edward A. Capano

PUBLISHER
Jack Fowler


# letters to the editor

### RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED

In his "Tolerance, If Not Respect" (March 13), Theodore Dalrymple writes: "I learned early in life that tolerance and respect are quite different things. One does not have to respect a man's opinions to respect his right to have them: Indeed, tolerance would not be necessary if one respected everybody's views. It hardly takes tolerance to tolerate what one respects."

I submit that the claim that one ought to "respect a man's right to have an opinion" is rather nebulous, and that Mr. Dalrymple's argument would be stronger if the distinction between respect and tolerance had been made more precisely. Declaring respect for a man's right to his own opinion is like declaring respect for another's right to wear shoes of a different size, or affirming the right of a man to prefer jam over Devonshire cream on his biscuits. These should not really be matters of respect; it is merely a fact that people will have different opinions. Likewise, differences of religious conviction are matters not of respect, but of fact.

Men will naturally attribute error to those who hold convictions other than their own. And it is here that tolerance comes into play. Rightly conceived, tolerance is that virtue by which men abstain from confronting each other at those times when doing so would result in an evil greater than keeping their silence. At the heart of tolerance, then, is the notion that something erroneous or immoral is attributable to other men with whom we disagree; otherwise, it is no tolerance at all, but rather agreement, or endorsement.

Consequently, Mr. Dalrymple's case that we protest too little against the mullahs who have offered money for the Danish cartoonists' heads could be made more strongly: The evil of insult that will follow upon confronting them and their terrorist thugs is far less than the evil of tolerating their words, which may result in the deaths of innocent Danes.

*Matthew Goulding*
*Vancouver, B.C.*

### THAT ANSWERS THAT

In the February 27 issue Mr. Dalrymple wonders where one would get a Danish flag to burn in Damascus. And an editorial asks, "How many Danish flags are normally available in Gaza, or Jakarta?" The answer: As many as you can make.

The *Dannebrog* ("banner of the Danes"), the oldest national flag in Europe, is a simple white cross on a red field. Looking closely at the photo in Mr. Dalrymple's article of such a flag being burned, one can see that the burner has merely stuck two strips of white tape on a piece of red cardboard. The "flag" burner is holding it by the edge and it is standing stiffly upright. Try that with an actual cloth flag.

*Dick Eney*
*Bladensburg, Md.*

### EXTRA CREDIT

In the February 13 issue, NR praises Alan Greenspan's successful two decades fighting inflation in deficit-prone America, and notes that "his predecessor, Paul Volcker, began the fight against inflation." That's a bit of an understatement. Remember 1980–81, when interest rates hit 18 percent? Volcker's supreme achievement was raising consumer interest rates to real, after-tax positive levels—the first time this had happened since WWII. Even the wealthiest Americans pulled in the belt, and inflation's back was broken. Greenspan did a masterly job of riding the mighty horse of the American economy, but Volcker broke the wild bronc of inflation.

*Douglas Jones*
*Nerstrand, Minn.*

NATIONAL REVIEW encourages letters to the editor. Letters should be submitted by e-mail to letters@nationalreview.com or by fax to (212) 849-2835 or by mail to: Letters Editor, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Please include your full name, address, and daytime phone number. Letters will be edited for space and clarity.

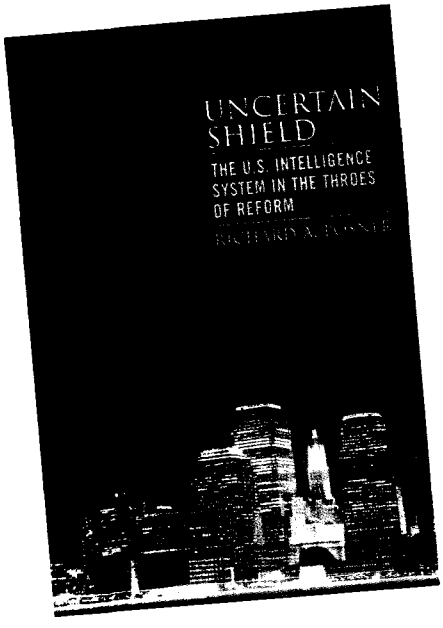



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FROM THE NEW HOOVER STUDIES IN POLITICS, ECONOMICS, AND SOCIETY SERIES

# Critical Reading from Hoover

## Reforming Intelligence: Continuing the Debate




*"Posner's continued study of reforms in our Intelligence structure since 9/11 is illuminating and constructive.* Uncertain Shield *makes a major contribution to the debate over how best to insure America's security."—**Henry A. Kissinger***

In *Uncertain Shield: The U.S. Intelligence System in the Throes of Reform,* Richard Posner picks up where he left off in his latest book, *Preventing Surprise Attacks,* and continues to analyze domestic intelligence reform. He argues that the decisions the current administration has made in implementing the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 has created an intelligence system that is too top-heavy and centralized to be effective.

In this book, Posner

- exposes fallacies in criticisms of the performance of the U.S. intelligence services
- analyzes structures and priorities for directing and coordinating U.S. intelligence in the era of global terrorism
- presents new evidence for the need to create a domestic intelligence agency separate from the FBI, and a detailed blueprint for such an agency
- exposes the inadequacy of the national security computer networks
- examines critically Congress's performance in the intelligence field, and raises constitutional issues concerning the respective powers of Congress and the President
- emphasizes the importance of reforms that do not require questionable organizational changes

***Richard A. Posner** is a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago and a senior lecturer at the University of Chicago Law School. He is the author of* Remaking Domestic Intelligence.

*Copublished with Rowman & Littlefield*
*2006, 256 pages, $19.95 Cloth*
*ISBN: 0-7425-5127-X*

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

HOOVER INSTITUTION

. . . ideas defining a free society

Hoover Institution Stanford University Stanford, CA 94305-6010 Tel: 877.466.8374 Fax: 650.723.1687 info@hoover.stanford.edu www.hoover.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE WEEK

■ Liberals were outraged by the news that Justice Samuel Alito had written Focus on the Family's James Dobson a letter thanking him for his support and prayers. They will be even less happy to see the postscript to the letter, which NR has obtained. "P.S. *Roe*? Gone. P.P.S. Awaiting further instructions . . ."

■ A few days after Hurricane Katrina, President Bush stated that no one had anticipated a breach of New Orleans's levees. The AP recently reported, however, that a videotape documented that Bush was warned about the failure of the levees on the day before the storm struck. Gotcha, declared Howard Dean, Harry Reid, and a host of the president's delighted tormentors. A few days later, the AP issued a "clarification" explaining that what the president's defenders had been saying was true: The tape clearly recounted the "grave concern" that the levees could be "topped" by flood waters—a less catastrophic event than a breach. The AP released the clarification late on a Friday night, like a politician spinning his way through a scandal. The incident was a perfect example of overreaching by Bush's opponents. Bush can fairly be criticized for the inadequacy of the federal response to Katrina. But once again, the critics want to say, sans evidence, that Bush lied and people died.

■ In a swipe at Bush, Jimmy Carter told the Council on Foreign Relations, "We worship the prince of peace, not of preemptive war." Before judging another man's soul, Brother Carter, you might check your relations with the Father of Lies.

■ The authority of Pope Benedict XVI now has some competition from the House Democratic Catholic caucus, which has issued an election-season encyclical. That effort was spearheaded by Rep. Rosa DeLauro of Connecticut and the former executive director of the abortion-rights group Emily's List, who explained, "We're rebelling against the idea of a one-issue church." The letter was signed by 55 Democrats, 35 of whom voted to keep partial-birth abortion legal. (They're perfectly willing to take dictation from a single-issue PAC.) The letter tries to have it both ways on abortion. It claims that the signatories agree with the Church on the "value of human life and the undesirability of abortion" while acknowledging "the tension that comes with being in disagreement with the Church in some areas." To disagree with the Church on the injustice of abortion, however, is to disagree with it about the value of human life. And as both this pope and his predecessor have explained, Catholics cannot treat this grave injustice as just another issue, on par with agriculture subsidies and the minimum wage. What is perhaps most disappointing about the letter is that a few genuinely pro-life Democrats signed it, providing cover for their pro-abortion colleagues and putting party loyalty ahead of the cause which they have, until now, faithfully served. It is a sadness; but it is unlikely that the magisterium of the Catholic Church has met its match in Rosa DeLauro.

*The Yale Taliban*
*(see page 8)*

ROMAN GENN

■ The *New York Times* reports, based on its study of six states, that parental-consent and parental-notification laws do not reduce abortion as a percentage of pregnancies. The methodology is uncannily reminiscent of Glen Harold Stassen's 2004 finding that abortion rates had increased under President Bush. In both cases, the researchers relied on state health departments' statistics rather than the more authoritative numbers of the Alan Guttmacher Institute and the Centers for Disease Control. In both cases, the researchers looked at only a handful of states. Stassen's work is now universally discredited. The *Times* writers' similarly counterintuitive result almost surely will follow suit. Michael New, a professor at the University of Alabama, has looked at CDC numbers for all the states and found that parental-involvement laws have contributed to substantial declines in the abortion rate for minors. His data are a little older than those examined by the *Times*. As we await a more thorough debunking, we hope that the people who fell for Stassen's research—we mean you, Nicholas Kristof, Hillary Clinton, Andrew Sullivan, and Howard Dean—don't put their foot in it again.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LIFE INSURANCE ALERT FOR SENIORS

# NEW! How to sell your unwanted and unneeded life insurance policies for cash

## About Insure.com

**"The best Web site I've found..."**
*The Dallas Morning News*

**"...we'd recommend you do your insurance shopping here..."**
*Barron's*

**"New source for best buys in insurance. One way to get to know the insurance market."**
*Kiplinger's*

**"...this site is flush with useful features."**
*Forbes.com*

**"...as good as a Web site on insurance can possibly be. Hats off and a gold star to the top insurance site on the Web."**
*Insurance for Dummies*

**"The premier Web site in terms of detail and ease of use, (best of all, it's free) is Insure.com..."**
*Yahoo! FINANCE*

## Here are the facts:

- Investor groups and financial institutions are now paying cash to buy unwanted life insurance policies. Whole life, universal life, term life, joint-life, last-to-die and key-man life may qualify.
- You might own an unwanted and unneeded life insurance policy that is eligible to be sold for cash and not even know it!
- Rising premiums or changed family circumstances can create a situation where you've decided that a life insurance policy is no longer wanted or needed.
- For example, many people with unwanted cash value insurance mistakenly believe that the policy value is worth no more than the actual cash value. Even worse, many people mistakenly believe that their unwanted term life insurance can only expire worthless or be lapsed for zero value.
- How to obtain a free life insurance policy valuation. If you are at least 55 years of age and have at least $100,000 of life insurance coverage in force, please mail the coupon below, call us toll-free at 1-800-556-9393, ext. 101 or visit us online at www.insure.com.

### Recent Purchase Offers

69 year-old male: $500,000 policy
**Cash offer: $100,000**

72 year-old female: $750,000 policy
**Cash offer: $165,000**

78 year-old male: $1,200,000 policy
**Cash offer: $408,000**

83 year-old female: $2,000,000 policy
**Cash offer: $406,000**

**Instant quotes from over 200 companies**
**Life • Auto • Health • Home • *and More!***

**Insure.com**

***YES!*** **Please send me free information on how I might be able to sell my unwanted life insurance policies for cash.**

Name _____ Date of birth (MM/DD/YY) ___/___/___ Age _____ $ Coverage _____

Address _____ Phone _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Major Illness History: ☐ Heart Disease ☐ Cancer ☐ Diabetes ☐ Stroke ☐ Other _____
*(Please check all that apply.)*

Mail to: Insure.com, 8205 South Cass Avenue, Suite 102, Darien, IL 60561 **Ad Code: NR 3/06**

NOTE: The sale of an unwanted and unneeded life insurance policy is called a "life settlement" and is an activity that is regulated in at least 37 states. You should never lapse, cancel or sell a life insurance policy until after you have first obtained independent and unbiased information regarding all of your options and choices. The National Association of Insurance Commissioners has published a useful brochure entitled, "Selling Your Life Insurance Policy: Understanding Life Settlements." Copies may be obtained by calling (816) 842-3600 or visiting www.naic.org. This message and offer is void where prohibited by law. Quotesmith.com, Inc. DBA Insure.com generates revenues from the receipt of industry-standard fees and commissions paid to it by participating insurance companies, life settlement providers and investors. Copyright ©1984-2006 Quotesmith.com, Inc. All rights reserved. CA agent #0A13858, LA agent #200696, MA agent #333509159. Quotesmith.com, Inc.dba Insure.com Insurance Services in CA under agent #0827712, in LA under agent #205078. Quotesmith.com, Inc. dba Insure.com Insurance Services, Inc. in UT under agent #90093. Quotesmith.com dba Insure.com and Life Quotes, Inc. in CO.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Week...

■ Pollster John Zogby claims that 72 percent of our soldiers in Iraq want the U.S. to withdraw by the end of the year. The same survey reports that 42 percent of the troops do not understand the U.S. mission there, and 85 percent think we went to war because Saddam Hussein was involved in 9/11. Once Zogby started disclosing details about the poll's sponsors and methods, however, bloggers from both ends of the political spectrum started advising readers to view the results with a skeptical eye. A wealthy war opponent, whom Zogby will not name, funded the poll, which should at least make us wonder about the fact that the poll's results serve the purposes of its sponsor. Second, the poll questions—which were obtained by conservative bloggers Hugh Hewitt and Duane Patterson—were confusing and manipulative, and seem to have been contrived to elicit the desired answers. The liberal blogger and polling expert Mystery Pollster spoke with Zogby off the record about his methods and reported that "big 'grains of salt' are certainly in order" when imbibing the poll's claims. Given the circumstances, we would say that's putting it mildly.

■ "Too many bills passed by Congress include unnecessary spending," complained President Bush on March 6—raising, once again, the question of why he has not vetoed one of them in five years as president. In the future, however, Bush may be able to strip wasteful earmarks out of legislation without vetoing entire bills. Eight years ago, the Supreme Court ruled that the line-item veto was unconstitutional. Since then, budget hawks have developed a poor man's version of it known as enhanced rescission authority. Supporters say it will pass judicial muster because instead of simply letting the president delete sections of legislation, it would return a modified bill to Congress for an up-or-down vote. The White House has now endorsed the idea. If Congress enacts it, the president will have a tool to trim the worst spending excesses. We hope Congress will enact much broader budget reforms. But no reforms can substitute for a real commitment to spending restraint.

■ The Supreme Court dismantled the protests of liberal law professors in an 8–0 ruling against a challenge to the Solomon Amendment. The law schools want to be able to exclude military recruiters from campus as a way of protesting the "don't ask, don't tell" policy. The amendment denied federal funding to universities that refuse to give military recruiters equal access to their campuses. The professors claimed that the law violated their First Amendment rights to freedom of speech and association. The Court ruled that this was a ridiculous claim. The plaintiff in the case was the Forum for Academic and Institutional Rights, or FAIR. Of course, if universities could be counted on to act fairly, the Solomon Amendment would never have been necessary. The spoiled princes of academia cannot bear even the least offense against liberalism within their ivory towers. It is more important to them that they be allowed to take their puerile stands in behalf of homosexuality than that the military be allowed to recruit the men and women it needs to defend our country. Fortunately for the military (and for the rest of us), what they find even more important is money.

■ Almost everyone agrees that the U.N. Human Rights Commission needs fixing. But the U.N. has a knack for taking something broken and making it worse. The proposed U.N. human-rights council—whose creation depends on a vote of the General Assembly—would increase the representation of non-democratic states and set no eligibility requirements for members. Even states under U.N. sanctions for human-rights abuses could be included. A third of the General Assembly would be able to call for a special session anytime it wanted—meaning that the council would be more likely to hear jeremiads about U.S. practices at Guantanamo Bay than to address real abuses committed by China, Cuba, or Sudan. The United States is pushing for more negotiations, but American ambassador John Bolton has made it clear that, absent major changes, the U.S. will vote against the new body. That's the right decision. The U.S. and its allies should now look for ways to promote human rights outside the U.N. structure.

■ The 57-nation Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) have their own ideas about the proposed human-rights council. They want its charter to ban all "defamation of religions and prophets," and the council to "bring to justice" the defamers. This of course follows the flap about Danish newspapers publishing cartoons disrespectful of Muhammad. Just a question: Would the proposed ban cover the astoundingly offensive anti-Semitic cartoons and articles that regularly feature in the press of Muslim nations? Here's a clue: The OIC declared the offending cartoons to be "part of a campaign by Zionist and hostile circles in the West to deface" Islam. Whereas the hunchbacked Jew toting his bag of gold in the average Muslim-nation newspaper cartoon is just fair comment on the world-manipulating machinations of "Zionists."

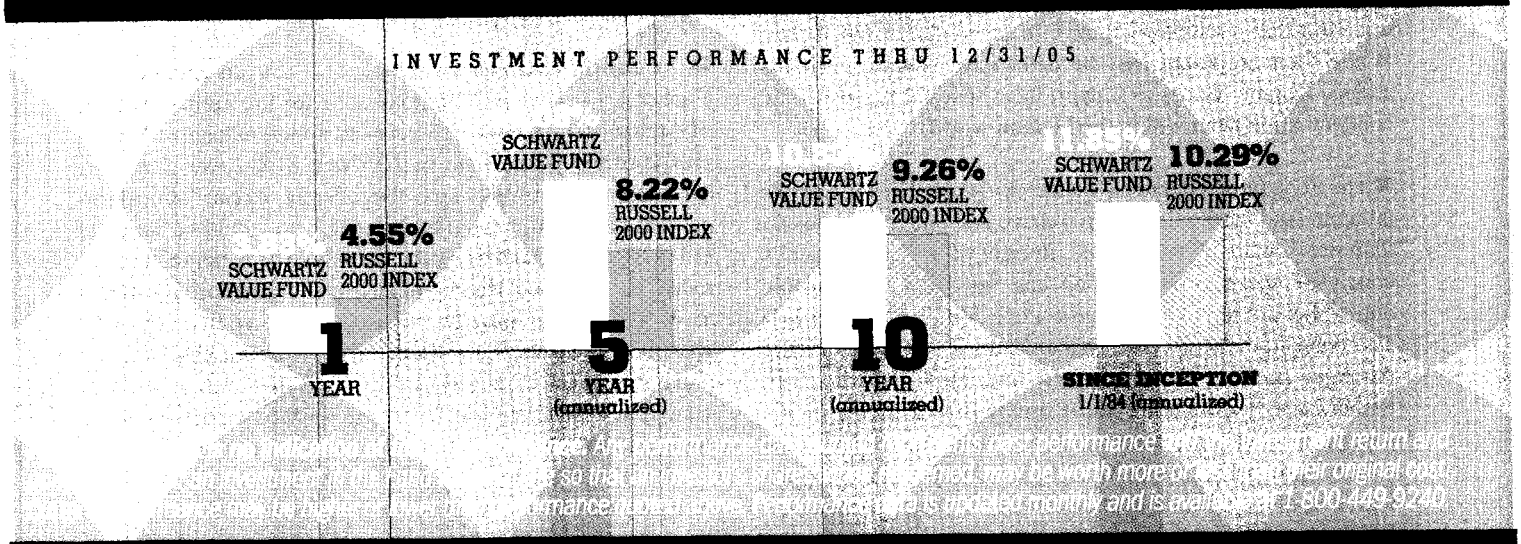
■ A gang of French slum-dwellers who kidnapped and killed a 23-year-old cellphone salesman "acted for villainous and sordid reasons—money," said interior minister Nicolas Sarkozy. But they also "had the belief, and I quote, 'that Jews have money.'" They sure did. A pretty girl met Ilan Halimi in the shop where he worked and lured him on a date. He was seized and taken to a tenement in the suburb of Bagneux where he was tortured for three weeks while the gang negotiated for ransom, e-mailing terrorist-style pictures of a bound and bleeding Halimi to his family. When they couldn't make a deal, they doused Halimi with acid to remove their DNA (they had earlier cut him and burned him with cigarettes) and dumped him by a local train station. He died of his wounds. Though the gang, aptly named the Barbarians, included some low-lifes of French and Portuguese ethnicity, its guiding spirit was Youssof Fofana, a 25-year-old Muslim from the Ivory Coast. Nineteen people have been arrested, French Jews held marches, shocked politicians joined them, and the stagnation, multiculturalism, and anti-Semitism of French life remain as before.

■ Rioting over the Danish cartoons has spawned two "manifestos" against Islamic extremism. The first is called "Together Facing the New Totalitarianism." It is signed by a dozen intel-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Performance speaks louder than words




Schwartz Value Fund has been around for over 20 years but chances are, you've never heard of us. We're one small cap value fund that hasn't had much interest in self-promotion. Instead, we've been busy delivering consistent, market-beating performance for our shareholders.

Come to think of it, we haven't even had a portfolio manager change to announce. To hear more and get a complimentary investment kit, call Schwartz Value Fund at **888-726-0753** or visit **schwartzvaluefund.com**.

## SCHWARTZ VALUE FUND

*The quoted performance for the Fund includes performance of RCM Partners Limited Partnership for periods prior to July 20, 1993. It should be noted that: (1) the Fund's performance includes performance for periods before the Fund's registration statement became effective; (2) the Fund was not registered with Securities and Exchange Commission and, therefore, was not subject to the investment restrictions imposed by law on registered mutual funds; and (3) if the Fund had been registered during such periods, performance may have been adversely affected.*

*The Russell 2000 Index is the Fund's primary benchmark. It is an unmanaged index of small cap stocks with an average market capitalization of $556 million as of September 30, 2005. An investor cannot directly purchase the Index.* ***An investor should consider the investment objectives, strategies, risks, charges and expenses of the Fund before investing. The prospectus contains this and other important information about the Fund. For a prospectus, please call 1-800-449-9240 or visit the Fund's website at schwartzvaluefund.com. Read the prospectus carefully before you invest. Schwartz Value Fund is distributed by Ultimus Fund Distributors, LLC.***

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE WEEK...

lectuals—including celebrated figures Salman Rushdie, Irshad Manji, and Bernard-Henri Lévy—and was reprinted in the very Danish newspaper that first published the controversial cartoons. Notable is its comparison of the Islamist ideology to Nazism and Stalinism and its passionate defense of Western values (particularly free expression). Separately, National Review Online ran the "Muslim Manifesto," significant for coming from two self-professed moderate Muslims, Mustafa Akyol and Zeyno Baran. It offers a rejection of extremism, a rejection that its authors believe to be rooted in the Koran. While their argument may be debatable (Islamic militants adduce Koranic verses to support their jihad), it is a welcome condemnation from within the Muslim world.

■ The Pope turned out to have more divisions than the Soviets thought. And the Soviets seem to have had one more assassin than previously acknowledged, in light of an Italian panel's conclusion that the Soviet Union was "beyond any reasonable doubt" behind the plot to murder Pope John Paul II in 1981. The conspiracy nearly succeeded: Turkish gunman Mehmet Ali Agca fired a bullet that nearly took the life of the Holy Father, who was making anti-Communism a theme of his papacy. The announcement comes in the wake of new technology that permits a more detailed analysis of old photographs, and the subsequent discovery that Sergei Antonov, a Bulgarian executive, was indeed in St. Peter's Square at the time of the shooting—something he had denied at a 1986 trial in which he was acquitted of hiring Agca. If the claim holds up, it would confirm what many have long suspected. The Pope ultimately forgave Agca; it is perhaps too soon for lesser mortals to forgive the Soviets.

■ Helena Stone, 70 years old, of New York City, has been working as a telephone repairperson at Grand Central Station, and wishes to use the ladies' restroom in that terminus. When she tries to do so, however, she gets arrested, because she is taken to be a man. Not unreasonably: Ms. Stone was indeed formerly Mr. Stone. S/he has been undergoing "gender reassignment" therapy for ten years. Alas, as New York viewers of local TV news programs are aware, in matters of facial appearance, voice, and manner, Ms. Stone's femininity is still . . . not abundantly evident. Not to mince words, she looks like a prizefighter and sounds like Jimmy Durante. A luxuriant blonde wig does very little to redress the balance. A patron of the ladies' facility at Grand Central, emerging from her cubicle and encountering Ms. Stone, would experience shock and alarm. We are not without sympathy for Ms. Stone's predicament; but there is such a thing as a decent respect for other people's feelings, even in this age when every right must be asserted and every "identity" respected. Cover your wig with a small hat or snood, Ms. Stone, and go to the men's room. You will, we can assure you, not be noticed.

■ The *New York Times* ran a series of articles, by Andrea Elliott, on Sheik Reda Shata, a Cairo-trained imam in Brooklyn. They were the kind of pieces big newspapers can do well—long, detailed, worth reading. But maybe the headline on the second installment was worth rewriting: "To Lead the Faithful in a Faith Under Fire." We don't normally focus on the black pages of American history, but look: Quakers hanged in Massachusetts Bay Colony. Catholic churches burned by nativist rioters. Joseph Smith lynched. Henry Ford pushing the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. America, to its discredit, has known how to fire at religions it doesn't like. For reasons good and bad—the mildness of our manners, political correctness—American Islam post-9/11 hasn't seen anything like that. We await the day when equivalent softening impulses make themselves felt in the Muslim world.

■ *To the Talibs down at Mory's* . . . Sayed Rahmatullah Hashemi, former roving ambassador for the Taliban regime of Afghanistan, is now a 27-year-old undergraduate at Yale. A profile of the young man in *The New York Times Magazine* says that when he walks up College Street, he can "almost forget that there [are] people back home who would be happy to kill him." To say nothing about the people back home his comrades happily killed. Rahmatullah is making a good adjustment to Western life, judging by the answer he gave two boys who were interested in being Rangers: "'Go kill a chicken, and pluck it, and eat it,' he said softly. 'And then maybe you will know a little bit about war.'" His hard-earned wisdom could be applied to so many situations. Two guys want to stone an adulteress? "Go take a dog, and throw rocks at its head until it dies. And then maybe you will know a little bit about stoning." Two lads want to push a wall onto a homosexual? "Go take a frog, and squish it with a two by four. And then maybe you will know a little bit about killing homosexuals." Heavy, dude.

■ Larry Summers ran the white flag up the crimson flagpole, announcing that he would step down as president of Harvard. News stories revisited this or that episode from his tenure—his remarks on the scientific achievements of women, his run-in with Cornel West—but Summers did not go because he was edgy, or out-there, or abrasive. (He apologized copiously for his—entirely defensible—comments on women.) He went because the faculty of arts and sciences decided he was not "one of us," they vowed to have his head, and the Corporation caved. Camille Paglia put it best in an op-ed for the *New York Times*: "Over the last three decades of trendy post-structuralism and post-modernism, American humanities professors fell under the sway of a ruthless guild mentality. . . . Harvard did not begin that blight but became an extreme example of it." Summers was a standing affront to their pieties. Harvard has shown that it will uphold the old faith until the last post-structuralist gives the eulogy for the last post-modernist.

■ When Colorado high-school student Sean Allen brought home a recording of his geography teacher ranting that President Bush sounded like Hitler, that capitalism was at odds with human rights, and that the United States was the most violent nation in all of history, his father was none too pleased: "I had no idea he was this nuts." The tape made its way to a local radio station, from there to the Internet, and from there to the great beyond of national TV and print pun-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ditry. The teacher, Jay Bennish, was put on leave as the media swarmed and the school investigated whether Mr. Bennish had violated the district's policy that, according to a spokesman, "all discussions must be fair and balanced." What he said is not the issue; that he did not present the other side apparently is. But just what *is* the antipodal point of view of the Bush/Hitler comparison? That Bush is in actuality the Second Coming of Christ? Lost in this tempest in a teapot has been the distinction between that which constitutes a fair and balanced appraisal of a sensitive topic, and that which is, as Jeff Allen astutely noted, just plain nuts.

■ Kids and cars used to mean hot rods, T-birds, little deuce coupes. Reza Taheri-azar, a recent graduate of the University of North Carolina, took it to a new level when he plowed his Jeep Cherokee through the Pit, an outdoor student gathering place and hangout, at lunch hour. Nine people were only slightly hurt, no thanks to Taheri-azar, who told investigators he wanted to "avenge the deaths or murders of Muslims around the world." So why didn't he drive through the defendants at the Saddam trial?

■ Close readers of Andrew Sullivan will be familiar with some of his less endearing habits: his promiscuity in handing out misleading labels to those with whom he disagrees ("Christianist" is his way of comparing conservative Christians to al-Qaeda), his tendency to shift ground in the middle of a debate, his apparent lack of interest in describing his opponents' views accurately. Sullivan set a new standard the other day when he insinuated that Robert P. George of Princeton had no great objection to killing abortionists. In follow-up posts, he alternately denied that he had insinuated any such thing and repeated the insinuation. NR's Ramesh Ponnuru pointed out that George had said that Christians should pray for abortionists, love them ungrudgingly, and never give up hope that love would transform them. Sullivan maintained, absurdly, that these admonitions were compatible with wanting to kill abortionists. He then accused Ponnuru of favoring laws against masturbation, because that's the sort of thing Christianists believe. When Ponnuru denied holding that view, Sullivan responded that he was lying—that being, again, another well-known trait of the Christianist. Sullivan then posted an anonymous e-mail from someone who had gone to college with Ponnuru, portraying him as an ideological chameleon who poses as a liberal or a conservative depending on the needs of the moment. Keep in mind that Ponnuru has worked for NR his entire adult life, while Sullivan is the only self-described "conservative" in America who endorsed John Kerry for president. You can see why Mickey Kaus calls him "excitable Andrew." But excitability is no excuse for libel.

■ The Oscars were a red-state surge, as half the films winning the big four categories—Best Picture (*Crash*), Best Actor (Philip Seymour Hoffman, *Capote*), Best Actress (Reese Witherspoon, *Walk the Line*), Best Director (Ang Lee, *Brokeback Mountain*)—were about heterosexuals. *Half!* Talk about God, the flag, and a slice of apple pie. Who says Hollywood is a bunch of Left Coast elitists?

■ With so many artists being so courageous these days, it's hard to salute them all. But at least they can be counted on to salute themselves. This week's hero is Ronald Feldman, conductor of the Berkshire Symphony, an ensemble in western Massachusetts. "It's a challenge to perform [Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony]," Feldman said before a recent performance. "It's more of a challenge to step forward in any way we can to make our voices heard when we see injustice. This program is my contribution to this process." The program in question featured works meant to highlight the "repressive political climate in the United States," and its "wars creating misery and instability." No easy task, that, what with repression round about. Shostakovich wrote his Fifth in response to criticism from Stalin, under threat of execution or imprisonment. Feldman must know just how he felt.

■ First they came for the smokers. I wasn't a smoker, so I said nothing. Then they came for the . . . Dr. Pepper drinkers? Apparently so. The health scolds are on the march against the sugary drinks that so many of us like. Look out for a Surgeon General's warning on your can of soda, and a heavy sin tax to go with it. Nutritionists have determined, you see, that soft drinks cause obesity. Obesity, of course, is bad. We must all be slim and trim, and it is the business of the authorities to make us so. Might we not be left to decide for ourselves what we want to ingest, how fat we want to be, how long we shall live? Heaven forbid! Once you let people start making decisions about their own lives, where will it end?

■ Harry Browne, the Libertarian Party candidate for president in 1996 and 2000, has died at the age of 72. In his earlier life he made a reputation as an author and investment adviser—and then he ran for office. His simple campaign platform rested on the pillars of individual liberty, personal responsibility, and the promise of the free market. He was doomed from the beginning. He proclaimed: "It is obvious that no Democrat or Republican is ever going to stop the relentless growth of the federal government. Only a Libertarian is going to set you free." But Browne was not the man to do it. Promising to legalize heroin, eliminate public schools, and eviscerate national entitlement programs, he was forever blazing new trails in the alienation of the electorate. Henry Clay, who lost five bids for the presidency, is famous for his line that he would rather be right than president. The trick, of course, is to be both, and Browne never came close. His commitment to the principles of liberty was inspiring, just as his lack of resonance among voters was mostly depressing. R.I.P.

■ Michael S. Joyce, who died on February 24 at the age of 63, was one of the conservative movement's great venture capitalists. As executive director of the John M. Olin Foundation (1979–1985) and president of the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation (1985–2001), he was responsible for funding countless ideas and causes, most notably welfare reform and school choice. His particular genius was to support demonstration projects in Milwaukee that allowed libertarian theories to become empirical realities. Just last month, Wisconsin governor Jim Doyle, a liberal Democrat, agreed to raise the cap on public-school students allowed to use vouchers to attend private schools from 15,000 to 22,500. Although Joyce did not



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

play a direct role in this decision, it would have been highly unlikely without his philanthropic leadership in the 1990s. Thousands of kids will now get a better education than they would have received from urban public schools, and probably no more than a handful will ever realize how much they owe to Joyce, a kid from Cleveland who may have seen a little bit of himself in each of them. R.I.P.

**AT WAR**

## Back from the Brink

THE much-anticipated full-blown Iraqi civil war is not upon us, at least not yet. In the wake of the savage Golden Mosque bombing, it seemed that the extraordinary forbearance of Iraq's Shiites in the face of three years (and more) of provocation might finally have reached its end. But all of Iraq's political leaders—even the thuggish Moqtada al-Sadr—called for calm and an end to the violence.

Civil war is in no one's interest except al-Qaeda's. It hopes to ruin the American project in Iraq, by destroying the country around us, and perhaps take power—at least in some Iraqi rump state—in the ensuing chaos. All the major players realize this, so they all worked to talk the country back from the brink, including Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani, who, as usual, played an admirably responsible role.

None of this is to suggest that the situation in Iraq is anything less than deadly serious. A strong government must have a monopoly on force, and as long as there are private militias the Iraqi government won't have one. The mosque attack may have increased the prestige of the militias as defenders of the Shiites. With every day that passes, the prospect of putting the militias out of business seems more remote.

As bad as the existence of the militias is, their infiltration into government security forces is worse. The interior ministry, which runs the police, has become a hiring program for the Badr Corps, the paramilitary wing of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI) party. The ministry is a rat's nest of death squads and torture cells. U.S. ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad has been pushing to clean it up.

His reward was a ridiculous attack by the head of SCIRI, Abdul Aziz al-Hakim, who blamed him for the Golden Mosque assault. Khalilzad got it from the other side too. Sunnis blamed the U.S. for not doing more to protect them from reprisals. The U.S. is a convenient pincushion for blame, but the fate of Iraq ultimately rests on the shoulders of Iraqis, and depends on whether they make the compromises necessary to seize the better future that is still open to them.

To that end, Khalilzad's goal of hammering out a unity government that includes Shiites, Sunnis, and Kurds is still vital. Khalilzad is also pushing for technocrats to run the "power ministries" of interior, defense, and oil, a play to put them above the sectarianism and patronage concerns of the Shiite parties. Arriving at the precipice of civil war might just scare the Iraqi factions into a healthy flexibility. It will be a sign that this is happening if the Shiites agree to dump the ineffectual incumbent prime minister, Ibrahim al-Jaafari, in response to Kurdish and Sunni opposition to him.

If Iraq ever descends into a real civil war, we won't have to debate whether it has happened. It will be clear for all to see. The military will dissolve into ethnic factions, and the government will collapse. That hasn't happened, and so declarations of defeat in Iraq—of the sort our founder and editor-at-large William F. Buckley Jr. has made in his column—are premature. That view could ultimately be proven right, but there is no way to know with certainty at this point.

Throughout the Iraq War, NR has tried to temper the rival fatalisms of the Iraq optimists and pessimists. Victory in Iraq has never been inevitable or impossible. The outcome depends, as is usually the case, on the choices made by the players, including us. Even if our influence in Iraq is waning, our commitment—and the specific forms it takes—still matters very much. Defeatism will be self-fulfilling.

**FOREIGN POLICY**

## A Triumph in India

NOT all regimes are created equal. That is the guiding insight of George W. Bush's foreign policy, and he put it to work on his recent trip to India and Pakistan. The result was a diplomatic triumph.

Bush and Indian prime minister Manmohan Singh concluded a deal that would let India buy reactor components and nuclear fuel from the U.S. and other countries. In exchange, it would classify 14 of its 22 nuclear facilities as "civilian" and open them to international inspections. (The remaining facilities—military sites—would not be subject to inspections.) The deal must now be approved by the Indian parliament and the U.S. Congress, and it is worthy of their support.

India's emergence as a nuclear power has traditionally been considered a defeat to the cause of nonproliferation. In some quarters, that analysis still prevails. It is strengthened—or so its proponents argue—by the nuclear aims of North Korea and

## GOODBYE TO ALL THAT

*In Canada, where dogs can get*
*A new hip from a private vet*
*Faster than Gramps in clinics so*
*Backed-up, obits precede the show,*
*A court in uppity Quebec*
*Has ruled the creaky thing a wreck,*
*A call that, judging from the screams,*
*Has, like, upended goo-goo dreams.*

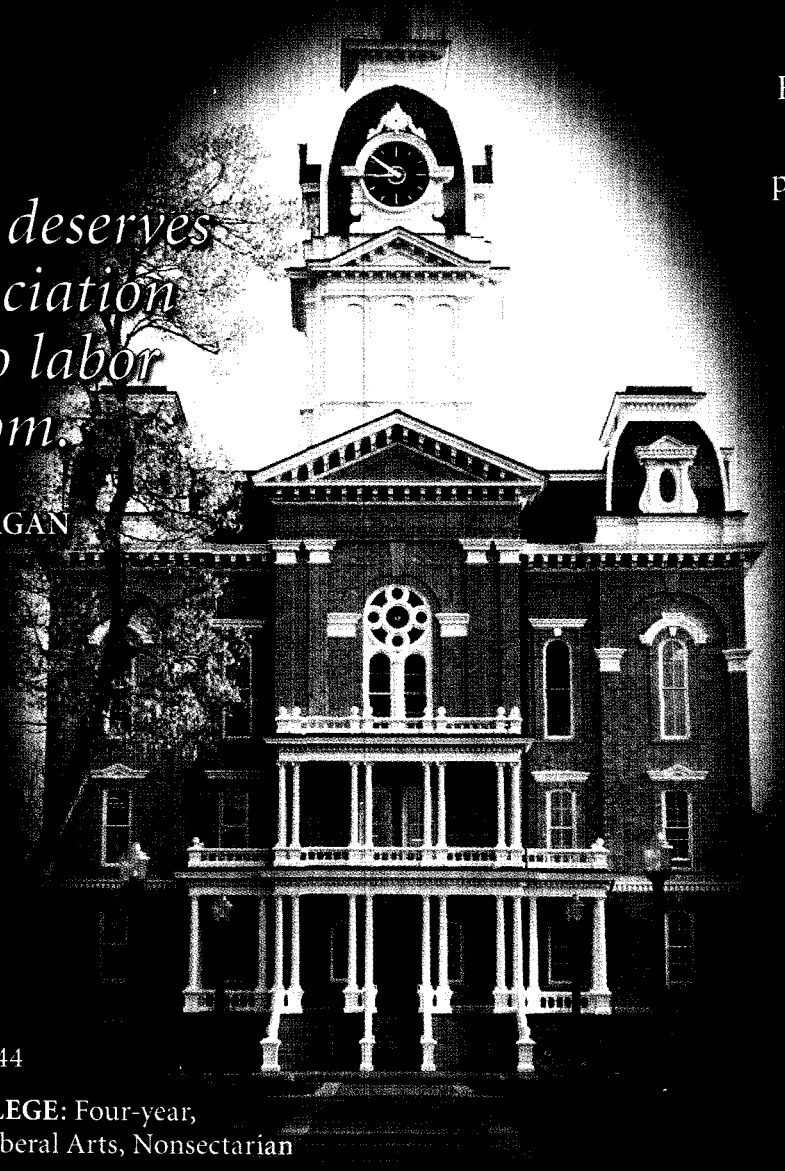
—W. H. VON DREELE



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Hillsdale College

*Developing the mind. Improving the heart.*



*Hillsdale deserves the appreciation of all who labor for freedom.*

— RONALD REAGAN

Founded to provide "sound learning" in a way to help perpetuate the "inestimable blessings" of "civil and religious liberty and intelligent piety," Hillsdale College prepares students to become leaders worthy of their heritage. Guided by a teaching faculty dedicated to the pursuit of truth, students gain a rich understanding of what freedom means, and of what is needed to preserve it. Simply put, Hillsdale College offers the very best in a classical liberal arts education.

- **FOUNDED**: 1844
- **TYPE OF COLLEGE**: Four-year, Independent, Liberal Arts, Nonsectarian
- **ENROLLMENT**: 1,200 full-time students representing 47 states and 13 foreign countries
- **ENDORSEMENTS**: Ranked among the nation's best colleges by *Barron's, U.S. News, Peterson's, ISI, The Princeton Review*
- **DEGREES**: Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, 32 majors
- **RECENT DISTINGUISHED VISITING FACULTY**: The Honorable Clarence Thomas, Sir Martin Gilbert, Mark Helprin, Victor Davis Hanson, David McCullough

**HILLSDALE COLLEGE OFFICE OF ADMISSIONS**
(517) 607-2327
admissions@hillsdale.edu
www.hillsdale.edu/admissions

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE WEEK...

Iran. How, they ask, can the United States deny nukes to Iran and North Korea while blessing Indian possession of the same?

But it's highly unlikely that the deal will change the calculus of any state. The thought of Kim Jong-Il or Mahmoud Ahmadinejad poring over the agreement and shouting "Eureka!" as he spots the loophole that lets him build his nukes is charming but absurd. India, for its part, will press forward with its program, deal or no deal. That shouldn't worry anyone too much. India is a stable democracy, and there is no plausible scenario in which it could be expected to threaten us with its nuclear arsenal. And even though it never signed the NPT, it has also never transferred nuclear technology to another state. The deal, by bringing it into the international nonproliferation regime, would give it a formal obligation not to do so.

Our priorities overlap with those of India in many areas, from trade (U.S. exports to India grew by over 30 percent last year, while Indian exports to the U.S. rose by roughly 15 percent), to the struggle against Islamic terrorism, to concern over the rise of Chinese power. With India's economy growing at nearly 8 percent a year, it will have a powerful thirst for energy. It is consistent with our desire to keep oil prices low—and it is favorable to our national security—for India to slake that thirst without cozying up to Middle Eastern oil producers, and particularly Iran, with which it has traditionally had warm relations.

Some critics argue that the U.S. will now feel compelled to give a similar deal to Pakistan. But no U.S. president—least of all Bush—would do such a thing, given the history of the A. Q. Khan network and the internal threat from terrorists that Pakistan's government faces. Pervez Musharraf knows that, and Bush said it openly, standing next to Musharraf at a press conference in Islamabad.

Bush's detractors like to criticize his supposed lack of diplomatic skill. But he has again put the lie to their claims. Seeing that continued marginalization of India would do nothing to improve the conduct of any state, he found a way to bring India into the international fold on nuclear issues. He did it without alienating Pakistan, which remains a crucial ally in the fight against terrorism. He strengthened our ties with India to the benefit of both countries. Most important, he took the world a step closer to accepting that a regime's character is far more important that its signature on a piece of paper in deciding whether it should be trusted with nuclear technology. Well done, Mr. President.

**THE PORTS DEAL**

## The Demagogues Win

WHO says that Democrats and Republicans can't work together? When there is an opportunity for cheap and advantageous demagoguery, ignorance, and bad faith, they will eagerly join hands. This is exactly what they have done—with a few honorable exceptions, including Sen. John McCain—on the Dubai ports-deal controversy.

We have yet to hear a convincing explanation of why having the United Arab Emirates–owned firm Dubai Ports World—after its purchase of a British-owned firm—manage some terminals at six U.S. ports would threaten our national security. A firm like DP World basically operates the cranes. It is a small part of a big operation, with various U.S. government agencies providing the security. But the White House got behind in the p.r. game and was late explaining this, allowing opponents to label the deal as "giving Arabs control of our ports."

Now, incredibly, the White House is on the wrong side of a 70–20 national-security issue that has more resonance than the Patriot Act and the National Security Agency wiretapping program. This is simply a debacle, shaping up as lose-lose for Bush. If he loses on Capitol Hill, where congressmen of both parties threaten to block DP World, he will be humiliated and identified with the unpopular deal. If he somehow wins, he will have done so against the grain of public opinion, harming himself on national security in a cause—having DP World manage the terminals—that is not of fundamental importance.

*We have yet to hear a convincing explanation of why having Dubai Ports World manage some terminals at six U.S. ports would threaten our national security.*

The deal is unpopular among Republicans, almost 60 percent of whom oppose it. The ports controversy is actually wreaking the damage on Bush's political base that the Harriet Miers nomination only threatened to inflict. Congressional Republicans aren't going to let Sen. Chuck Schumer, who will surely find a reason to oppose the deal no matter what, get to their right on port security, and many of them actively want to split with the president on a high-profile issue. Trying to see this one through isn't worth it. Bush should pull the plug, and remember the caliber of politicians he's dealing with in Congress, for next time.

**ABORTION**

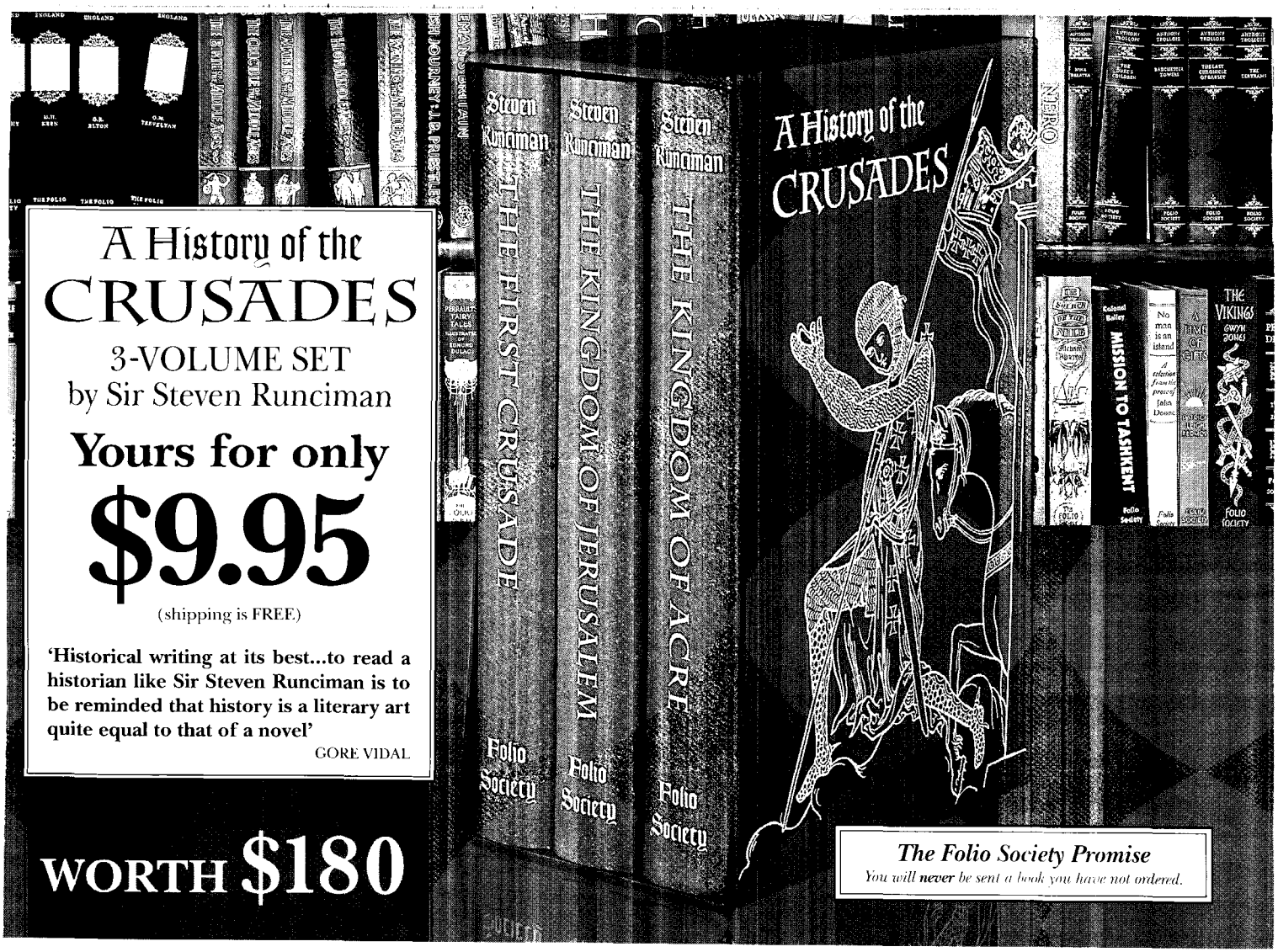
## Costly Gestures

SOUTH DAKOTA has enacted a ban on abortion except to save a woman's life. Pro-choice forces in the state have not decided whether to try to repeal the law by referendum or to file a lawsuit in federal court. If the latter, the court will surely strike the law down as a direct violation of *Roe* v. *Wade* and its successor cases. And if the South Dakota ban does not reach the courts, Mississippi is likely to enact a nearly identical ban that could. Other state legislatures are considering their own bans.

We have mixed feelings about these laws. We share the pro-life objectives that animate them, but we doubt that they actually advance those objectives. Those objectives number three. The two ultimate objectives are expressed in the pro-life slogan that every child should be "welcomed in life and protected in law." That slogan recognizes the dual injustice of unrestricted abortion: Killing unborn children is almost always unjust, and



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




# A History of the CRUSADES

## 3-VOLUME SET
by Sir Steven Runciman

## Yours for only
# $9.95

(shipping is FREE.)

**'Historical writing at its best...to read a historian like Sir Steven Runciman is to be reminded that history is a literary art quite equal to that of a novel'**

GORE VIDAL

## WORTH $180

***The Folio Society Promise***

*You will **never** be sent a book you have not ordered.*

SIR STEVEN RUNCIMAN'S historical masterpiece charts the epic story of the Crusades – from their birth in the Norman campaigns of the 11th century, through the triumphant establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, to the rise of the Islamic empire and the final degeneration, in the 14th century, of the Crusading spirit. The senseless massacre, the romantic and mercenary ideals which led the Christian knights to the Holy Land, and the politics which kept them there – these are Runciman's themes, in a gripping, vivid and ground-breaking study.

As your introduction to The Folio Society, we are offering you this unique, beautifully bound set worth $180 for just $9.95 (shipping included). Also, a deluxe set of the *Compact Oxford Dictionary and Thesaurus*, worth $104, is yours FREE just for replying.

The Folio Society does NOT send you unsolicited books or 'choices of the month'. You simply choose four books from our catalogue to fulfill your membership.

We pride ourselves on the quality of every book in our collection. Our current publications include history and eye-witness accounts, classic and modern fiction, memoirs, notable biographies, children's books, humour, poetry, and legend. Prices start as low as $29.95 and many of our books are less than $40.

The Folio Society, established in England in 1947, publishes books for dedicated readers who wish to rediscover the pleasures of the fine edition at an affordable price.

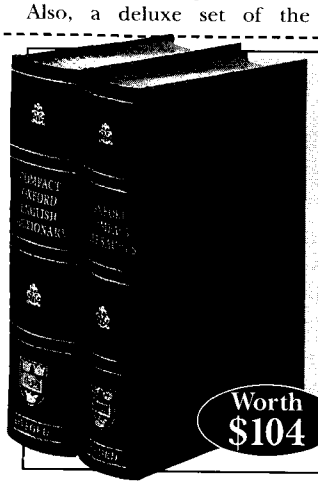
Why not join us now with *A History of the Crusades*? Simply fill out and return the coupon today to take advantage of this special introductory offer or call Toll Free on 1-800-353-0700.

**What the literary world have said about us**

*'The Folio Society produces books that will add beauty as well as substance to any library'.*
Historian Arthur M Schlesinger

*'Folio books are... pristine yet timeless, each one bound and illustrated with a true understanding of its secret charm and essential quality'.*
John Mortimer

THE FOLIO SOCIETY
P.O. Box 693, Holmes, PA 19043




## PLUS FREE
JUST FOR REPLYING

***The Compact Oxford English Dictionary* and *The Oxford Compact Thesaurus***

Two essential reference books in elegant bindings

To: The Membership Secretary, The Folio Society,
P.O. Box 693, Holmes, PA 19043. Fax:1-610-532-9001.

**ORDER TOLL FREE 1-800-353-0700**

Please accept my application for FREE trial membership of The Folio Society and send me *A History of the Crusades*, together with the Folio catalogue and my FREE set of Oxford reference books. If I agree to purchase at least 4 books from your catalogue I will be billed only $9.95 for *A History of the Crusades* (including shipping and handling). If I am not satisfied – for any reason – I may return the introductory set within 14 days. My membership will be cancelled and I will owe nothing. I understand that as a member of The Folio Society I have the right to return any book if I am not completely satisfied. The Oxford reference books are mine to keep whatever I decide.

Title Name Date

BLOCK CAPITALS PLEASE

Address

City

State Zipcode

Please allow 21 days for delivery. Applications subject to approval. Send no money now. KQ6X44

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

laws that treat that killing with indifference are also unjust. The more immediate pro-life objective is to create the conditions that would allow the achievement of those two goals. The chief precondition is the overturning of Supreme Court edicts on abortion. Those edicts mandate that abortion be legal throughout pregnancy.

Does the South Dakota ban, or the ban contemplated in Mississippi, advance any of those objectives? These laws set back the cause of overturning *Roe*. If they reach the current Supreme Court, a five-member majority of which is on record in support of *Roe*, they will elicit yet another reaffirmation of that decision. (We truly hope that our pro-life allies supporting these laws are not basing their strategy on the possibility of a change of heart by Justice Kennedy.) They could thus strengthen the felt force of the argument that *Roe* is a super-duper-precedent.

If another vacancy arises while these laws are working their way through the courts, their effect will be to make it harder to confirm a justice who might be inclined to be the decisive vote against *Roe*. As it is, too many people are under the impression that overturning *Roe* amounts to prohibiting all abortions. These laws will make it all the easier for NARAL to make that false equation. And they will shift the conversation from the subset of abortions that is politically hardest to defend (partial-birth abortions) to the subset that is easiest (abortions arising from rape).

Since these statutes are extremely unlikely to result in the end of *Roe*, they will not succeed in making the law just. And since

# notes & asides

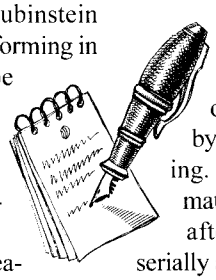
## ■ Notes on the Passing Scene

I have said about myself, and repeat it here, that living in New York, or having easy access to it, can reproachfully grate on you. There are those so inattentive to the resources of the city that we live as if at the Grand Canyon with the shutters always closed.

I haven't counted, but there must be 100 musical events every day in NYC, and if you add dance and visual exhibits, make that 500. I write of a minor affair on March 2nd, the kind of thing that *can* just *happen* in Manhattan, in this case under unusual auspices because the impresario was celebrating his own 30th birthday. The modest, affable, gifted man had come to town eight or ten years ago from Minnesota, attracted to a career as a performing pianist. But he yielded (perforce?) to the usual stresses, and is now about to enter business school.

Tonight's was a special celebration: Lawrence Perelman sitting at a resplendent Steinway grand piano in one of the most alluring rooms in New York. Behind the hall, where musicians and their friends can gather in modest numbers, are the rooms that display the precious (a Steinway grand costs $90,000) artifacts of ivory, wood, and metal that give forth music. The invitations for tonight, sent out only a week or so earlier, were addressed to a few dozen friends, invited to hear him play.

Five minutes after 7 P.M. he hadn't come on stage, and we felt suspense building. Overhead at Steinway Hall is a great crystal chandelier. Behind the piano are slabs of gray-black marble, framing the large arched window with the plush, relaxing drapery at either side. Above the recess is a balcony with copper-colored railing. Right, at floor level, is the desk of the hall's manager, in finely burnished wood, behind it two yellow sofas, matching two others on the left end. Two grand oil paintings hang on either side. On the left is Franz Liszt, playing to feminine admirers—though maybe it is Anton Rubinstein who is seated at the piano, performing in a salon somewhere in Europe a century and a half ago. On the other side it's Wagner, depicted writing something on manuscript paper, with flying Valkyries overhead.



The suspense was for two reasons, the first, what sometimes sets in at the theater just before the curtains actually part. Tonight there was also suspense brought on by the sheer audacity: Larry Perelman had elected to celebrate his birthday by playing three of the most demanding pieces of piano music extant, the last three sonatas of Ludwig van Beethoven. Those who have pursued aural pleasure will have heard Sonatas 30, 31, and 32, but only those who are ambitious, and preternaturally skilled, will undertake to perform one of them, let alone all three at one sitting.

Five minutes later, the dark-haired celebrant walked into the room, dressed in a black suit and sweater, tieless, accompanied by a friend who would turn the pages. He smiled at his guests, made a brief comment on what lay ahead, and sat down to the Vivace of Opus 109.

Twenty minutes later he paused, accepted the applause, and then brought his hands down on the Moderato cantabile of Opus 110. His head was all but immobile even in the stormiest passages. He played through the sublimity of Beethoven's last piano works with precision and devotion. One quickly knew the artist's mastery of his material, noted the nimbleness of fingers that had Olympian challenges to perform, and wondered at his faculty for absenting his own personality so that we had only the music to hear in the gilt of the chamber. Seventy minutes later, he reached the quiet ending chords of 111, leaving the audience rapt by the music, and by the undertaking. Think, furtively, of the young matador confronting six bulls in one afternoon, the actor undertaking serially all of Shakespeare's tragedies on successive days—the painter, on Day One, starting in on the whole of the blank ceiling of a church.

It would be neat to finish here by saying that this kind of thing happens all the time in New York. But not quite. New York is a great, endless stage for star players in music and dance and drama, but the kind of thing Larry Perelman did cannot be regularly scheduled because dazzling acts of artistic adventure happen only in very special moments—like tonight's. A young man, at 30, decides to take on a music mountain, to dazzle others and himself by laying down one more wreath for the master, before settling down to learn accounting.

**—WFB**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the courts will probably quickly strike down these laws, they will not stop a single abortion either.

That's 0 for 3. On the plus side of the ledger, the states will have communicated that resistance to the *Roe* regime is stronger than the conventional wisdom about its popularity would suggest. But that is not a sufficiently valuable benefit to make up for the damage these laws are likely to do to the pro-life cause.

Pro-lifers have gained ground over the last decade and a half by pursuing a savvy incremental strategy. That strategy puts the end of *Roe* within sight. If *Roe* falls, pro-lifers should then try to persuade the public in each state to prohibit most abortions. After that, they should try to persuade them to prohibit abortion in the case of rape and incest. To try to collapse this multi-stage process into an instant is to ignore social and political circumstances, and to throw away patiently and painfully won political victories for the sake of an emotional gesture.

The most effective response to *Roe* is not to pretend that it does not exist. Some of our pro-life allies who favor enacting these laws now—as opposed to waiting until *Roe* is gone—wave aside the practical objections by saying that it is never the wrong time to do the right thing. That is true. But making it easier for pro-choicers to win the abortion wars is not the right thing to do.

The pro-life legislators of South Dakota and Mississippi are being criticized on multiple, and sometimes contradictory, grounds. The national press has featured articles that accuse the South Dakotans of prohibiting emergency contraception (they didn't), and articles that accuse them of being hypocrites for not prohibiting emergency contraception (they aren't). Pro-lifers elsewhere, whatever their tactical disagreements, should fight these calumnies.

But pro-lifers who want to see their views prevail in American law, and not merely to feel good for a moment, should hope that when the lower courts strike down these laws, the governors of South Dakota and Mississippi will not appeal the cases up to the Supreme Court.


ATTENTION HIGH SCHOOL JUNIORS!

*Stimulate* your mind ...
*Kindle* your imagination ...
*Stir* your soul.

***This summer,*** join members of the faculty of Thomas Aquinas College and students from around the country to meet some of the greatest minds of Civilization: St. Thomas Aquinas, Plato, Sophocles, Shakespeare, Pascal and other authors.

***Great Books***
***Great Conversations***
***Real Ideas***
***Discover Undying Truth***

**California Beaches • Hiking**
**Ultimate Frisbee**
**Getty Center • Theatre**

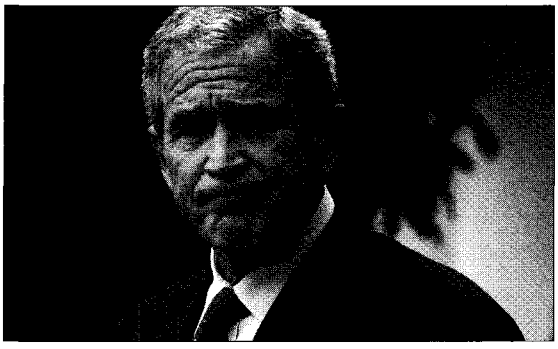
***Who:*** 102 rising seniors
***When:*** July 23 - August 4, 2006
***Cost:*** $850
***Value:*** Priceless!

To find out more, call Jon Daly, Director of Admission, or visit our website.

*Great Books Summer Program*
THOMAS AQUINAS COLLEGE
*California*
*800 • 634 • 9797*
*www.thomasaquinas.edu*




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



■ POLITICS ■

# Living in the Real World

## Everyone has to do it, including conservatives

JONAH GOLDBERG

Ever since the end of the Cold War, torrents of analysis have predicted that the conservative movement was about to come unglued. Our defining rationale—anti-Communism—had vanished, and without that stanchion securely planted in terra firma the various members of the coalition would fly off in different directions, libertarians decamping for their never land, evangelicals for theirs. But the truth is that such predictions predate the end of the Cold War by a long shot. Robert Nisbet and others argued (often in these pages) that the Reagan coalition was intellectually untenable and could never last.

This perennial observation has, of late, dovetailed nicely with more conventional political punditry. Bush is a lame duck and, more important, he is very unpopular—and so Congress is running away from him on everything from port security to the budget. Free-market conservatives are feeling their oats these days, symbolized by Bruce Bartlett's broadside against Bush as an "impostor" in his book of that name. Matthew Continetti of *The Weekly Standard* has an indictment of the GOP as crapulent and corrupt coming out this spring. George Will, who has been quite tart toward Bush for a while, grew downright testy over the Harriet Miers nomination ("for this we need a *conservative* president?").

Bush's plight is what social scientists might call an "over-determined" event. In other words, all sorts of things were militating toward a certain amount of exhaustion with Bush. While everyone focused on the anti-Bush motivations behind the Democrats' selecting their worst presidential nominee since Michael Dukakis, few appreciated how much of Bush's support in 2004 was attributable to anti-Kerry views. The ongoing slog in Iraq, Bush's inability to get credit for a good economy, and his missteps on Miers, Katrina, and Dubai made some buyer's remorse almost inevitable.

But in the background there was an even larger problem: compassionate conservatism.

As countless writers have noted in National Review over the last five years, most conservatives never really understood what compassionate conservatism was, beyond a convenient marketing slogan to attract swing voters. The reality—as even some members of the Bush team will sheepishly concede—is that there was nothing behind the curtain. Sure, in the hands of Marvin Olasky and others, compassionate conservatism had some heft. But Karl Rove's translation of it into a political platform made it into a pseudo-intellectual rationale for constituent-pleasing and Nixonian "modern Republicanism." This is not to say that there haven't been good policy initiatives to come out of the Bush White House, but they've been good mostly because they were conservative simpliciter. Social Security privatization hardly amounts to a new kind of conservatism, never mind a conservatism that has made peace with a large welfare state.

Fred Barnes, who has done the heaviest lifting in defense of Bush's political "philosophy," originally called compassionate conservatism "big-government conservatism." But this description was unsatisfying for a host of reasons, including its obvious oxymoronic flavor. So he switched to "strong-government conservatism." Strength! What conservative doesn't like strength? But, as John O'Sullivan has repeatedly argued, this defense—like the brand of politics it defends—is rooted more in marketing than in first principles.

The concept of marketing really gets to the core of the conservative dilemma. Say it with me: Conservatism is not popular. Say it out loud if you must, for it is something many conservatives are in deep denial about. If the editors of National Review sat down and figured out what the ideal conservative society would look like, that portrait would be a very, very bad platform for a politician interested in getting elected. The average American likes a lot more government than the average conservative. This will in all likelihood never, ever change.

The red-state majority that solidified the Republican realignment is not a conservative majority. It is a Republican majority. Conservatives are merely one very important part of the coalition. This shouldn't surprise anyone who reads the newspaper regularly. The Bush White House treats conservatives like a constituency to be pleased when possible, placated or snubbed when necessary. Indeed, the conservative movement is itself a coalition, featuring many different kinds of right-winger—libertarians, hawks, evangelicals, et al.

Because this elemental fact is so widely and often misunderstood, we are constantly hearing about a "conservative crack-up." Those who have made such claims over the last 20 years could all have used a course in American Politics 101. Coalitions have long lives, even if their members are sometimes in tension with each another. The FDR coalition contained everyone from Communist Jews to progressive blacks to southern segregationists. That coalition lasted—amidst some violent ideological infighting—for nearly two

FABIANO/SIPA



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

generations. More important, "liberalism" variously defined was the dominant, and often the sole, political outlook of the American establishment. The epic battles over everything from civil rights to foreign policy didn't fundamentally change that fact. Dwight Eisenhower was the first choice of many ADA liberals as well as fairly conservative Republicans in 1952. But Eisenhower didn't appreciably damage the liberal consensus of the so-called "vital center" or the New Deal. Similarly, Bill Clinton—despite some efforts at mischief in his first term—found himself constrained by the borders of the Reagan realignment. In the end, he had to be a free trader and champion of school uniforms and the like. He may not have liked signing welfare reform, but he understood that the reality of post-Reagan politics required it.

The challenge for conservatives is to understand that, in the words of former NR publisher William Rusher, "politicians will always disappoint you." It is the refusal to accept this sad truth that has caused many conservatives to conclude that, if the politicians can't come to the mountain, the mountain must move to the politicians. This is the motivation that gave impetus to compassionate conservatism in all its forms. In the 1980s and early 1990s, Jack Kemp described himself as a "bleeding-heart conservative"—an attempt to redefine conservatism as a different kind of progressivism and to prove that he really did care about the things Good People care about. As Ramesh Ponnuru has noted, Pat Buchanan's "conservatism of the heart" wasn't a more authentic form of "true" (or "paleo") conservatism, but a leftward lurch toward statism that tried to defend activist government in the name of socially conservative sentiments. Compassionate conservatism was just the latest iteration of the same impulse, so much so that Buchanan joked he would sue Bush for plagiarism.

In the last half-decade, a slew of writers have devised new conservative-sounding programs and fads to make popular or progressive ideas and sentiments sound authentically conservative. From South Park Republicans, to whatever "movement" Andrew Sullivan claims to be leading this month, to Rod Dreher's "crunchy cons," the impulse seems to be to take any "good" thing and call it "conservative." Part of this is the naturally seductive appeal of populism. If "the people" are for it, well, it must be good. And if it's good, there must be some way to make it "conservative." So, for example, Dreher embraces a smorgasbord of popular liberal-Left assumptions about the environment, organic foods, and whatnot and says that, since he is a good conservative, these things must be conservative too. This narcissism caused him to support a pro-choice liberal Democrat over Joe Barton, the incumbent pro-life conservative in his congressional district, because Barton is "soft" on pollution. "I wonder," writes Dreher, "why it doesn't occur to these voters—and their pastors—that the fact that their children suffer from asthma and respiratory diseases is a family-values issue."

Many on the right notice this sort of "growth" on the part of other Republicans and conservatives and retreat into the bunker of Purity. Charges of so-and-so's being a RINO (Republican in name only), creeping Gergenism, and general apostasy have been a staple of conservative squabbles since well before William F. Buckley nudged the Birchers off the conservative dais. Such charges need to be weighed on a case-by-case basis. Surely Kevin Phillips is no longer a conservative in good standing, no matter his ability to convince NPR producers otherwise.

The problem with a bunker mentality should be obvious. Living in a powerless ghetto with no loaf is surely not preferable to living in the real world with half of one. This tension is one that NATIONAL REVIEW has wrestled with every day since its founding. Hence we have to give at least one cheer for marketing. If politicians can't make conservatism at least *sound* attractive, then conservatism becomes an otherworldly hobby, like Dungeons & Dragons. The trick, therefore, is to fight your battles where you can. But we must be ever-mindful of the danger of confusing marketing slogans for principles. The American public and the media will always be more favorably inclined toward a government that, to quote George W. Bush, "moves" when somebody hurts. That hardly means we should say that such a government is operating on conservative ideas, even if doing so would make conservatism sound more appealing, and conservatives more "with it." "It will never be known," remarked the French poet Charles Péguy in 1905, "what acts of cowardice have been motivated by the fear of not looking sufficiently progressive." **NR**

■ 2008

# Run, Rudy, Run?

## The former New York mayor is a favorite, but not visible

BYRON YORK

"I'M pro-choice, I'm pro–gay rights," Rudolph Giuliani told reporters in 1999 after a visit to then–presidential candidate George W. Bush. "There are people in the Republican party who don't agree with that." Giuliani, who was mayor of New York City at the time but not yet the 9/11 hero he would become, might also have added that he is pro–gun control, and that there are people in the Republican party who don't agree with that, either.

Taken together, those three positions would not seem a recipe for electoral success in the Republican party, at least not outside of New York. But fast forward seven years, to February 2006. Giuliani has not changed his views on abortion, gays, or guns. And yet a Gallup poll, seeking to identify frontrunners in the race for the 2008 GOP presidential nomination, found that 33 percent of registered Republicans surveyed nationwide said they would be "most likely" to support . . . Rudolph Giuliani. That put the former mayor five points ahead of Sen. John McCain, 26 points ahead of Sen. George Allen, 27 points ahead of Sen. Bill Frist, and 30 points ahead of Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney.

It's true that polls at this stage are mostly a measure of name recognition, and Giuliani, like McCain and Sen. Hillary Clinton, has that in spades. But Giuliani's showing is more than just name recognition. It's also a measure of how much 9/11 credentials could mean in the coming GOP race: They matter so much that a man who might be dismissed for his other views is a serious contender.

There's another factor at work, too. Giuliani is trying a strategy that's markedly different from that of his fellow Republicans: He's not actually running for



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

president, at least at the moment. While the other guys crisscross the early primary states, looking for the kind of name recognition that Giuliani already has, Giuliani, who has often said he won't decide on a run until after the '06 mid-term elections, is holding back. "We haven't seen any campaign activity out of him," says Katon Dawson, chairman of the South Carolina Republican party. "He hasn't been out here recently," says Sarah Sauber of the Iowa Republican party. "Hasn't been to New Hampshire this year," says Jen Wrobleski of that state's GOP.

Giuliani's absence from the primary states has led some observers to suggest he's not going to be a candidate at all. And it's certainly true he has a lot going on apart from politics. Giuliani's security consulting firm, Giuliani Partners, which he founded in 2002, has become enormously successful. He has branched out into investment banking. He makes millions as a public speaker. And in March 2005 Giuliani announced that he was joining the Texas-based firm of Bracewell & Patterson (now called Bracewell & Giuliani) to head its recently opened New York office. Even if he weren't campaigning for anything, he'd be a busy man.

But Giuliani may also be said to be running a kind of non-candidacy candidacy. For several years now, he's been playing the role of GOP statesman, traveling around the country helping other Republicans with their races, not his. "Right now, he is dedicated to helping Republicans maintain the House and Senate in '06 and doesn't do any personal events," says Anthony Carbonetti, a top executive of Giuliani Partners and a close Giuliani adviser. "It's all on behalf of the party."

It's something Giuliani did to an extraordinary degree in 2004. Reading from an old schedule book, Carbonetti goes down Giuliani's campaign schedule in the final days of that race. "On November 1st, he did five events in Florida; on October 31st, Derry, New Hampshire, Manchester, New Hampshire, and Youngstown, Ohio; on October 30th, Pittsburgh; on October 29th, Madison, Wisconsin, St. Paul, Minnesota, Mason, Iowa, and South Dakota . . ." The list goes on for quite a while.

All that campaigning created a lot of friends and political IOUs for Giuliani, chits he can cash in if he chooses to run in '08. "We know that Mayor Giuliani was out there for President Bush," says South Carolina's chairman Dawson. "People connect the dots that Rudy Giuliani was part of the success against John Kerry." Giuliani's position in the party is so strong that the National Republican Senatorial Committee has chosen him to headline its annual fundraiser this May in Washington. "He's a huge attraction," says one NRSC official.

But there is still that issues problem. "Giuliani has a tremendous reservoir of good will for how he handled 9/11, and a lot of people give him credit for his management of New York, which was no small task," says one close adviser to an acknowledged Republican presidential candidate. "But clearly, because of his positions on the cultural issues of abortion, guns, and gays, he would probably have trouble in the long term being attractive to conservatives in the party—even if it were just two out of the three issues."

While Giuliani's strategists argue that there's a wide range of issues at stake in the race—"He'll say, 'On cutting taxes, smaller government, protecting the homeland, protecting your neighborhood, I'm more of a Republican than most [Republicans],'" says Carbonetti—the GOP has never nominated a presidential candidate with Giuliani's views on social questions. And that will be a huge hurdle. "If you talk to conservatives, they would say, 'I really like him on security things. He was a great mayor, he's a good leader. But . . .'" says Republican pollster David Winston. In Giuliani's case, "but" means I don't know if I can vote for him.

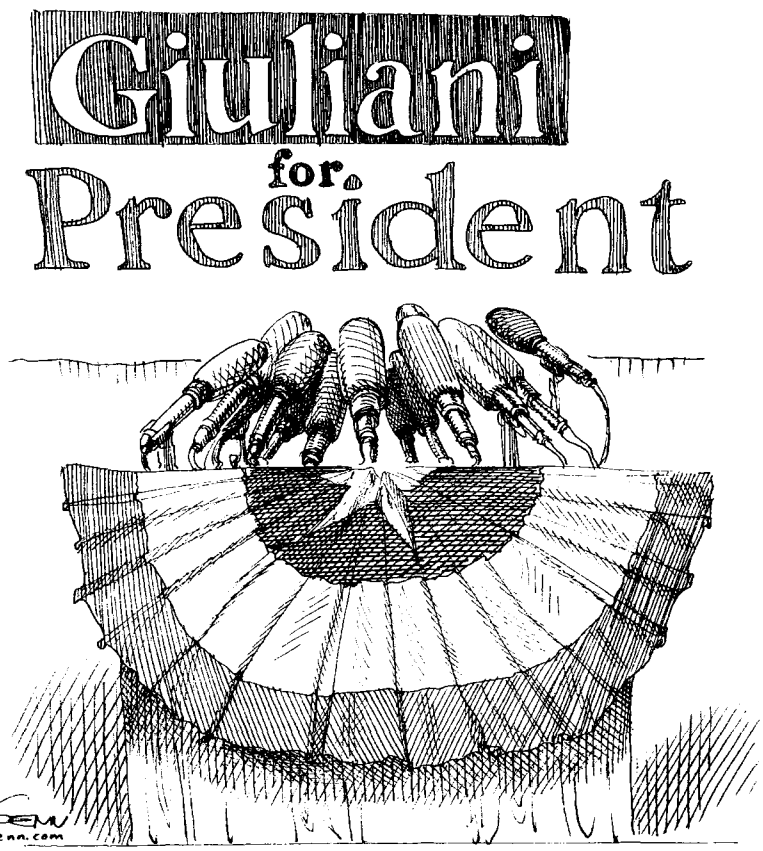
What can Giuliani do? The answer is, There's no clear answer. "How does Rudy overcome the social issues?" asks Guy Molinari, a former congressman from New York who is close to Giuliani. "There are ways of doing it."

Well, how, specifically?

"I don't know," says Molinari.

That's not a joke. Nobody else knows, either. Certainly Giuliani can't change his positions; doing that would destroy his reputation as a stand-up guy and turn him into a flip-flopper. And while he can't run away from his positions, he can't run on them, either; doing that would kill him with too many Republican primary voters.

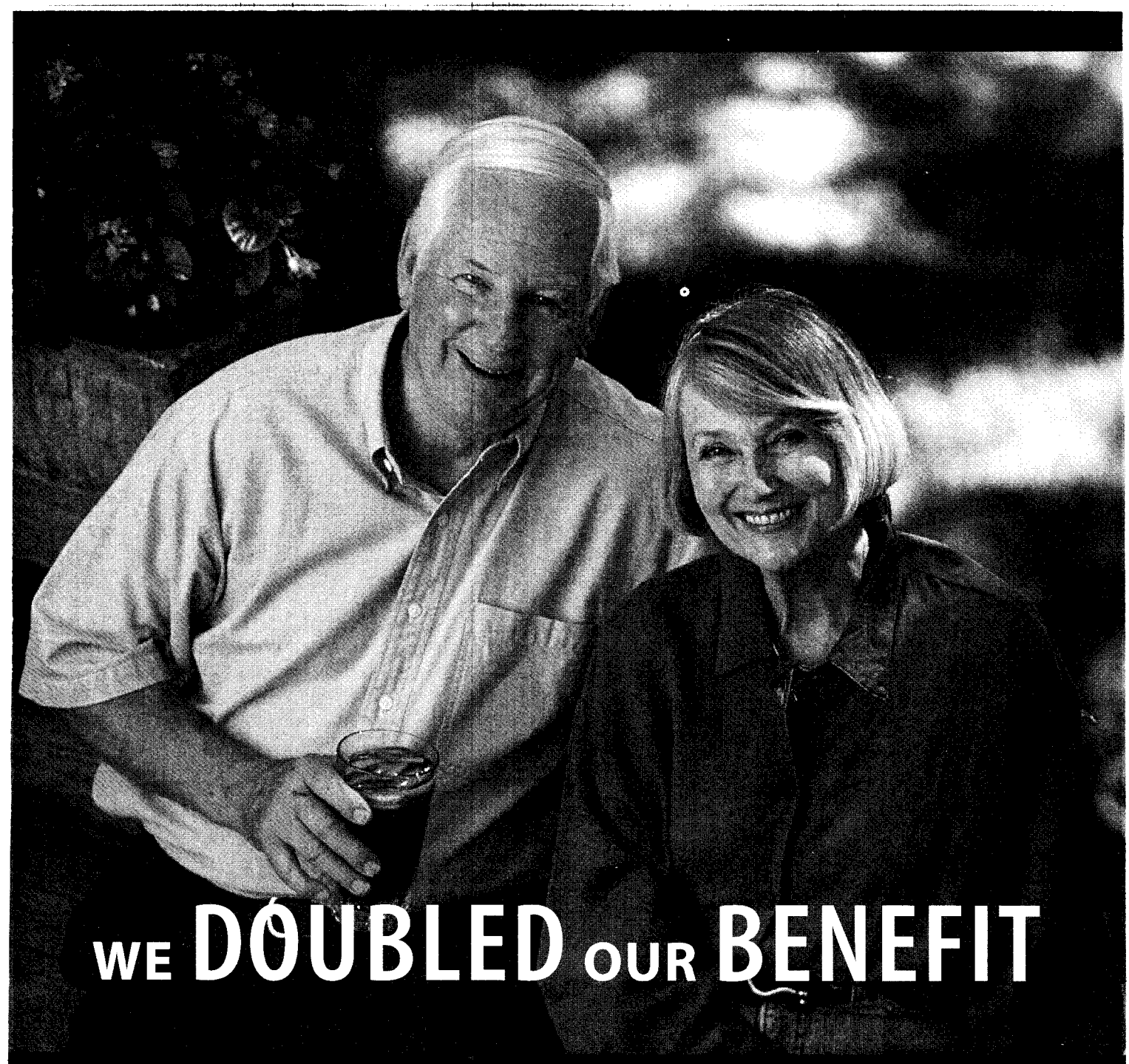
But there are some possible strategies. On abortion, in particular, Giuliani might be able to finesse the issue by stressing his




ROMAN GENN



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



# WE DOUBLED OUR BENEFIT

## With Half the Hassle!

Our tax advisor suggested we could maximize our tax savings by donating appreciated stock, instead of cash, to our favorite charities and that we could reduce the work involved by making just one transfer of stock to a DonorsTrust donor-advised fund.

By donating the stock to DonorsTrust, we received our charitable tax deduction, avoided the capital gain on our appreciated stock, and now have time to consider which nonprofit organizations we want to support.

And, DonorsTrust provides a protective boundary that gives us confidence that our charitable investments will never be used to fund any group that goes against the American ideals of limited government, personal responsibility, and free enterprise.

We made a gift to charity and struck a blow for limited government!

**Smart giving.**
**Convenient giving.**
**Principled giving.**

For more details, visit our Web site or call us for a free informational brochure.

DonorsTrust
BUILDING A LEGACY OF LIBERTY

703.535.3563 | www.donorstrust.org

DT Philanthropic Services, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

support for conservative judges of the sort appointed by George W. Bush—and pledge to appoint more of them if elected. He also might benefit from the fact that some of the other top-tier candidates—McCain, Allen, and Romney, to name three—don't have perfect pro-life credentials, either. Those factors might be enough to help Giuliani past the issue.

But most of all, Giuliani will need to play the security issue so well and so strongly that the social issues are diminished in their relative importance. If there were to be another terrorist attack in the United States between now and the primary season, his strength would become even more formidable. And if there isn't, security is likely to remain a top concern, although not the only one, among Republican primary voters. The question then will be, Is that enough? "What's going to happen is that Giuliani has to take the one facet that conservatives like and make it so important that the other facets don't matter," says Winston. "That's a tall order."

It certainly is. And in the end, there's always the possibility that Giuliani will decide not to run at all. He knows that if he does, he will surely face more questions than just those about the issues. Reporters—and his opponents—will want to know what, precisely, he has been doing with Giuliani Partners to make all that money. And what about his work with the law firm? And what's going on in his personal life after the contentious divorce that was a factor in his decision not to run for the Senate in 2000?

Giuliani might decide that he just doesn't need the trouble. On the other hand, he has often said he would like to run for office again. Some people thought that might mean running for governor of New York this year, but Giuliani declined. The next race is for the presidency in 2008, and were he to win, he would be 64 years old on Inauguration Day. If he is ever going to run, this is the time.

And social issues or not, a lot of Republicans would like to see him do it. "If he'll come do something [in South Carolina], we'll fill the room for him," says Dawson. "Giuliani has as good a chance as anybody right now. But he's got to come work and put some rubber on the road. It's not too late, but the fact is, it has started." **NR**

■ **PUBLIC POLICY**

# A Peek at The Books

## New regulations shed light on Big Labor

JOHN J. MILLER

I'M the newest member of the AFL-CIO. You can join, too: Sign up on the website of Working America, an advocacy organization tied to the union. All it requires is the submission of your name, e-mail address, and zip code. Voila! Welcome to Big Labor.

The AFL-CIO claims to have 1 million "associate members" like me—people who have no voting rights in the union. Some of us associate members would probably like to organize our workplaces, bargain collectively with our employers, and pay the dues that bankroll the AFL-CIO. But the rest almost certainly have no such interest and have done nothing more than I have. The union bosses need us all, however, because if we were purged from the rolls, it would show that under John Sweeney's leadership the union has lost members—and this trend is wholly independent of the four unions, including the Teamsters, that quit the AFL-CIO last year.

**In the future, union bosses may feel more pressure from below to spend dues on the traditional activity of representation and less on trying to elect Democrats.**

This sleight of hand is now public knowledge because the Department of Labor has spent the last five years trying to increase the financial transparency of unions—a project that no previous Labor Department has taken much interest in pursuing. "For a long time, this wasn't the Department of Labor," says one appointee of the Bush administration. "It was the Department of Labor Unions. We set out to change that."

One of the most important reforms is now well underway: Unions are filing their annual financial statements on newly revised forms that require far more detailed disclosure about their money and activities. The main beneficiaries of this system will be rank-and-file union members, who will gain unprecedented amounts of information about how their leaders are spending union dues. This in turn may benefit Republicans, because although the overwhelming majority of union political spending goes to Democrats, many individual union members actually support the GOP—exit polls indicate that 38 percent of them voted for President Bush in 2004. In the future, union bosses may feel more pressure from below to spend dues on the traditional activity of representation and less on trying to elect Democrats. "This is what it means to have conservatives running the Department of Labor," says one Labor official.

The roots of these current reforms go back more than 40 years: During the Eisenhower era, Congress held a series of sensational hearings on union corruption and passed the Landrum-Griffin Act, which required unions to report basic financial data to the federal government. Although unions thought the law demanded too much, many conservatives thought it demanded too little. Sen. Barry Goldwater called it a "sweetheart bill." One of the law's authors, congressman Robert Griffin of Michigan (who was later a senator), admitted that "the effectiveness of the act will surely depend upon the secretary of labor, who bears a great responsibility for its enforcement."

Over the next four decades, however, no labor secretary did much about enforcement. The unions filed their forms—the most important form is the LM-2—but they also made sure that the paperwork revealed only the most rudimentary information. Even this was hard for the public to obtain: It required a visit to the department's headquarters in Washington, D.C., or to one of sever-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Money, Morals, Immortality—What Do We Value?

## Decide for yourself with a fascinating professor's 24 lectures about choices, chances, rules, and free will

Our lives are filled with everyday questions of fact and finance. Which investment brings the highest return? What school district is the house in? What will this candidate actually do if elected? But the really fundamental questions of our lives, says Professor Patrick Grim, are questions of neither fact nor finance. The really fundamental questions are questions of value. These are the deep questions that apply to every aspect of our lives.

What is it that gives something genuine value? What things are really worth striving for? What is it that makes life worth living? Are there values that transcend cultural differences? Can we have ethical values without religion? If the universe operates in terms of deterministic laws, how can there be real choice? Is all value subjective? We can even ask if life is always worth living, or whether in some situations we would be better off dead.

**Questions of Value** is a course for anyone who has ever felt the tug of such questions or who wants to fine-tune their ability to see how deeper questions of ethics and values apply to the choices that make up their lives.

In presenting this philosophical examination of the wide range of decisions all of us encounter in pursuing our lives, Professor Grim has placed the accent on individual choice and has not shied away from controversy. The issues he presents for your examination cover questions about evolution and ethics, about whether punishment is justified by retribution or by deterrence, and about the differing lessons drawn from life's worst horrors by both religious and antireligious traditions.

What values, for instance, are involved in thinking about life and death? What values are evident in a yearning for immortality? The lines of discussion raised throughout the course are regularly as provocative as these, and Professor Grim means them to be exactly that.

### About Our Sale Price Policy

Why is the sale price for this course so much lower than its standard price? Every course we make goes on sale at least once a year. Producing large quantities of only the sale courses keeps costs down and allows us to pass the savings on to you. This approach also enables us to fill your order immediately: 99% of all orders placed by 2:00 p.m. eastern time ship that same day. Order before May 8, 2006 to receive these savings.

Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Justice is a concept involving the fair, moral, and impartial treatment of all persons, especially in law.

### About Your Professor

Dr. Patrick Grim is a Distinguished Teaching Professor of Philosophy at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. While a Fulbright Fellow at the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, he earned his B.Phil. He received his Ph.D. from Boston University. He is the author of *The Incomplete Universe: Totality, Knowledge, and Truth* and the founding coeditor of more than 20 volumes of *The Philosopher's Annual*. He has been awarded the President and Chancellor's awards for excellence in teaching and has been elected to the Academy of Teachers and Scholars.

### About The Teaching Company

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group, we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses. We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 2,000 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another or we will refund your money promptly.

### Lecture Titles

1. Questions of Value
2. Facts and Values
3. Lives to Envy, Lives to Admire
4. Foundations of Ethics—Theories of the Good
5. Foundations of Ethics—Theories of the Right
6. Thoughts on Religion and Values
7. Life's Priorities
8. The Cash Value of a Life
9. How Do We Know Right from Wrong?
10. Cultures and Values—Questions of Relativism
11. Cultures and Values—Hopi, Navajo, and Ik
12. Evolution, Ethics, and Game Theory
13. The Objective Side of Value
14. Better Off Dead
15. A Picture of Justice
16. Life's Horrors
17. A Genealogy of My Morals
18. Theories of Punishment
19. Choice and Chance
20. Free Will and Determinism
21. Images of Immortality
22. Ethical Knowledge, Rationality, and Rules
23. Moralities in Conflict and in Change
24. Summing Up

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
*The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day™*
GREAT PROFESSORS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE GUARANTEED.™

**SAVE UP TO $185!**
**OFFER GOOD UNTIL MAY 8, 2006**

**1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412)**
**Fax: 703-378-3819**

**Special offer is available online at**
**www.TEACH12.com/6natr**

The Great Courses®
THE TEACHING COMPANY®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

**Priority Code 20322**

Please send me **Questions of Value,** which consists of 24 half-hour lectures and complete lecture outlines.

- ☐ **DVD $69.95** (std. price $254.95) **SAVE $185!** plus $10 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Videotape $54.95** (std. price $199.95) **SAVE $145!** plus $10 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audio CD $49.95** (std. price $179.95) **SAVE $130!** plus $10 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audiotape $34.95** (std. price $129.95) **SAVE $95!** plus $10 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Check or Money Order Enclosed**

* Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply. Call or visit the FAQ page at our website for details.
**Virginia residents please add 5% sales tax.

**Charge my credit card:**

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ American Express

ACCOUNT NUMBER EXP. DATE

SIGNATURE

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

MAILING ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order—required for international orders)*

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Special offer is available online at www.TEACH12.com/6natr
Offer Good Through: May 8, 2006

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

al branch offices. "When we got here in 2001, we looked at these forms and realized that the quality of the information was terrible," says one top DOL official. "It was classic government: hard to access and of no use to union members."

The first step was to place everything online. Today it's possible to read union reports going back several years. But the real bonanza is just commencing: The updated LM-2 forms are trickling in, complete with detailed information on how unions spend—and sometimes misspend—their money. Because of variations in fiscal-year calendars, only about 20 percent of unions have filed their updated forms (the rest are due by March 30). But from those that have already filed, it's possible to appreciate the scope of the new data. The National Education Association, for example, filed its LM-2 last December. The form exposes what is essentially a slush fund for liberal interests: Recipients of NEA largesse include Amnesty International, the Dick Gephardt Legacy Fund, the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation, People for the American Way, Jesse Jackson's Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, the Wellstone Memorial Fund, and so on. This is in addition to the $25 million the NEA says it spent on politics and lobbying.

Kindergarten teachers and high-school algebra instructors—to say nothing of parents and voters—may wonder how any of this advances student achievement. It may even compel some of them to demand back the portion of their union dues that underwrite the NEA's political agenda. The most likely result, however, will be incentives for unions *not* to waste time and resources on politics and perks. The Labor Department's growing database is quite simply a treasure trove of information, much of it potentially embarrassing to Big Labor.

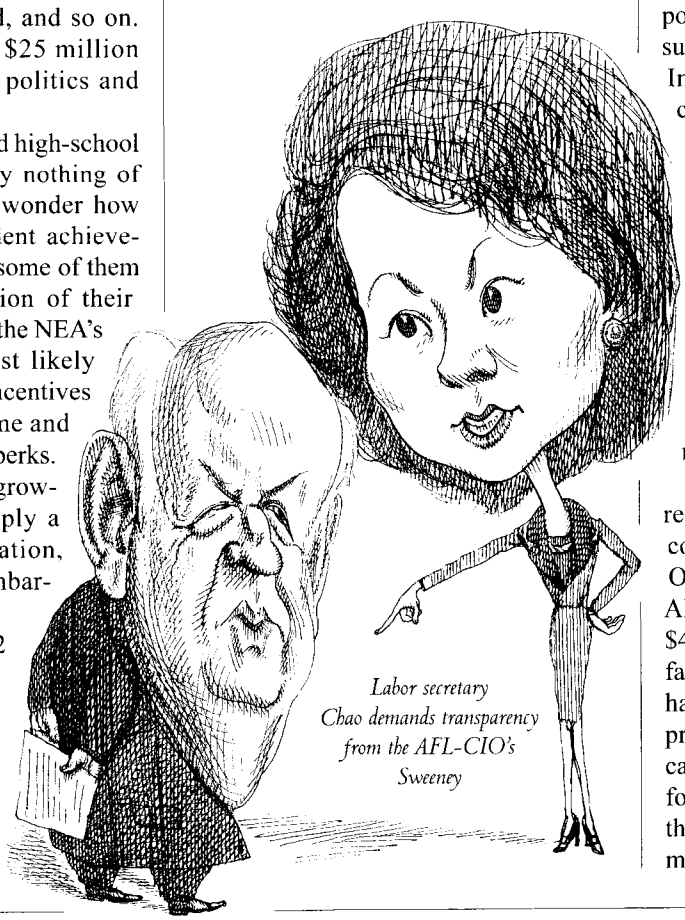
Consider the latest LM-2 of the Ironworkers Local 40, which is based in New York City. The union didn't spend much on politics or lobbying—just $7,175, according to last year's report. But it did spend $52,879 at Premium Cadillac Ltd. in New Rochelle, N.Y., for what is described as a "retirement gift." Perhaps the union's working stiffs would heartily approve of this going-away present, but at least they'll know about it.

And everyone else will too. Union watchdog groups are already scouring the DOL database. "When we decided to publish our Union Corruption Update newsletter every two weeks, I worried that we wouldn't have enough information to keep it going," says Ken Boehm of the National Legal and Policy Center, a Virginia-based group that monitors unions. "I was wrong about that—and these updated forms will give us a lot of new material. I actually think the new disclosure rules will guarantee that there's less corruption in the future." A new group, the Center for Union Facts, plans to post all of the new LM-2 data on a website that's even easier to use than the Labor Department's. Former DOL economist Diana Furchtgott-Roth is also sifting through the data for the Hudson Institute, as background for a possible book.

Predictably, union leaders have resisted every effort to make them more accountable to their members. When the revised LM-2 was up for consideration, the AFL-CIO groused in a 218-page submission to the Labor Department about "massive new reporting burdens" and estimated that compliance would cost the entire labor movement "possibly more than $1 billion." It guessed that its own costs would go above $1 million. Big Labor went on to rally its friends in the media. *Washington Post* columnist E. J. Dionne accused the Bush administration of "disabling the labor movement." A group of 28 union-friendly House Republicans asked labor secretary Elaine Chao to back off. And, of course, there was a lawsuit.

These complaints yielded only one modest success: Originally, the Labor Department proposed that unions report every expense totaling $250 or more. This figure was raised to $5,000. Yet the unions were not able to derail the general idea that they should divulge more about how they spend their money. Their litigation failed. They ran up against not only a determined GOP administration, but an emerging culture of transparency that has called on corporations and politicians to make more public disclosures. The zeitgeist was on DOL's side. In the end, the AFL-CIO looked especially foolish and unwittingly highlighted the importance of union transparency: Compliance didn't cost "more than $1 billion." It didn't even cost the AFL-CIO more than $1 million. Instead, the AFL-CIO's cost was $54,150, less than a quarter of John Sweeney's annual salary. "When figures are off by that much," says one high-ranking DOL employee, "you haven't made a mistake: You've committed a lie."

Republicans may even come to regret that they didn't impose a more costly set of regulations on Big Labor: On February 27, the leadership of the AFL-CIO announced that it would spend $40 million on political campaigns this fall, which is more than the organization has ever devoted to elections in a non-presidential year. That's an awful lot of cash, and virtually all of it is earmarked for Democrats. It's so outrageous, in fact, that I think I'm going to have to cancel my membership. **NR**



*Labor secretary Chao demands transparency from the AFL-CIO's Sweeney*

ROMAN GENN



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# REVOLUTIONARY

## NEW BOOKS FROM

# POPE BENEDICT XVI

## GOD'S REVOLUTION

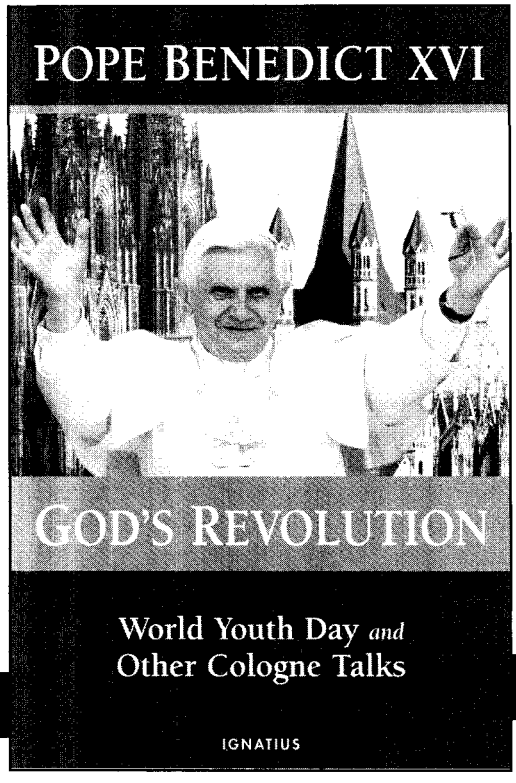
### World Youth Day and Other Cologne Talks

Pope Benedict XVI

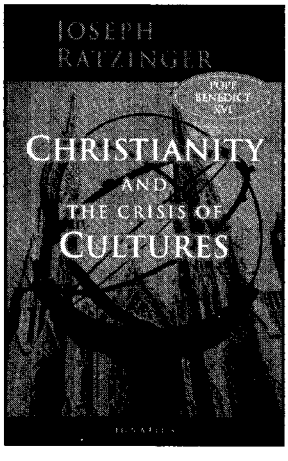
Pope Benedict had a dramatic encounter with over one million youth at World Youth Day in Cologne, Germany in August 2005. He also had important separate meetings of significance with Jewish, Muslim, and Protestant leaders. This powerful book includes all the inspiring, challenging talks the Pope gave to the youth about deepening their knowledge and love of Christ, and also includes his insightful talks to the other non-Christian religious leaders.

Reading this book reinforces the conviction that, in the person of Pope Benedict XVI, God has given the Church a great Teacher of the faith, and also a great Pastor who knows the way that can lead us to intimacy with God. His special charism seems to be his ability to combine universal openness with Catholic identity, clear and comprehensive witness to the truth of Christ with the gentleness of fraternal charity.

*ISBN 1-58617-145-3, Sewn Hardcover,* ***$14.95***




TO ORDER CALL **1-800-651-1531** • **WWW.IGNATIUS.COM**




### CHRISTIANITY AND THE CRISIS OF CULTURES

*Joseph Ratzinger (Pope Benedict XVI)*

In this new work, written before his election to the Papal throne, Joseph Ratzinger addresses the "crisis of culture" that is evident in Europe today, and the Western world in general. Some of the results of the crisis are greater threats to security, growing poverty, the dangers of genetic engineering, and a decline in "moral energy."

Europe's Christian roots and foundation are being replaced by "modern Enlightenment philosophy" says the Pope. Such philosophies recognize only what can be mathematically or scientifically proven, and deny any metaphysical reality.

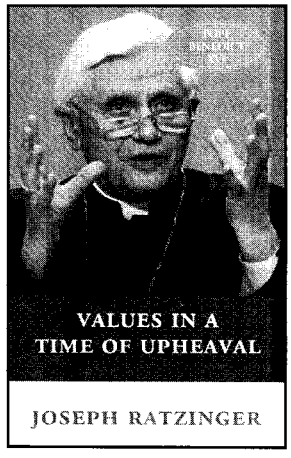
What the Pope offers as an answer to this nihilistic secularism is a spiritual renewal based on the powerful example in history of St. Benedict and the amazing cultural impact of the Benedictine Order.

*ISBN 1-58617-142-9, Sewn Hardcover,* ***$14.95***

### VALUES IN A TIME OF UPHEAVAL

*Joseph Ratzinger (Pope Benedict XVI)*

In this impressive work on the crucial topics of the relationship between religion, morality, culture, truth and politics in these troubled times, Joseph Ratzinger (now Pope Benedict XVI) passionately defends the vital role that Christian values play in our increasingly pluralistic and multi-cultural world. Ratzinger asks the questions, "What are in fact the foundations on which we live? What supports our societies and holds them together? How do states discern their moral bases and the forces that motivate them to moral conduct— forces without which a state cannot exist?" Combining faith and reason, a "political theology" emerges in these pages that avoids the extremes of rampant fundamentalism and excessive relativism and secularism.




*ISBN 1-58617-140-2, Sewn Hardcover,* ***$19.95***

**ignatius press** P.O. Box 1339, Ft. Collins, CO 80522 • **1-800-651-1531**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ PUBLIC POLICY II

# Illegal Detour

## Thinking reasonably about immigration

RAMESH PONNURU

ILLEGAL immigration is not a big problem in America. Okay, let me amend that before pots and pans and worse things come flying at me. America has some serious immigration problems, but they are not distinctively problems of illegal immigration. If we focus narrowly on illegal immigration, we are likely to come up with counterproductive solutions.

Almost all of the things that cause people to complain about illegal immigration are true of much legal immigration as well. If your worry is that illegal immigrants tend to raise government spending, for example, then you ought to be worried about legal immigrants, too. Half of legal immigrants have not gone past high school. Like illegal immigrants, they cost federal and state governments billions of dollars each year.

Or perhaps you're concerned that illegal immigrants hurt low-income workers by driving low-end wages down. If so, you should be almost as concerned about legal immigration. Illegal immigrants tend to be paid less than legal immigrants, but the difference is small and largely reflects the fact that on average illegal immigrants have slightly less education than legal immigrants.

Maybe you're afraid that the United States is importing social problems through illegal immigration. Without illegal immigration, we would have fewer poor people and fewer people without health insurance. There would be less strain on our health-care system and less likelihood that your taxes will go up in the future to take care of these problems. The difference with legal immigration, especially the unskilled kind, is one of degree.

If what most disturbs you is the possibility that illegal immigrants will not assimilate to our society, again, you have to have qualms about legal immigration. An immigrant who lacks legal status will probably not assimilate as easily as someone who has it, since he will not participate as fully in American life. But the sheer number of immigrants, legal and illegal, is probably a more important determinant of assimilation (especially when so many of them come from the same place). The immigrant population grows by about 1 million people annually. Half are legal, half illegal.

And if you're concerned about immigrant voting patterns, as many Republicans are, at least in private, then you ought to object much more to legal than to illegal immigration. Illegal immigrants can't vote for tax-raising, big-government politicians (although they can slightly increase the number of Democratic legislators through their effect on apportionment and districting).

The national-security argument for cracking down on illegal immigration is that "we need to know who's here." But our immigration bureaucracy is not extraordinarily competent or well supported. It does not do a great job of processing the existing flow of legal immigrants through the system. If that legal flow stays at its current volume, there is a limit to how helpful that bureaucracy can be to law enforcement.

In practice, legal and illegal immigration are pretty closely linked. Legal and illegal immigrants come from the same places, both categories being dominated by Mexicans. They live in many of the same neighborhoods, even the same households, and often work for the same employers. James Edwards of the Hudson Institute points out that the numbers for both categories have risen in tandem. People sometimes make it sound as though increases in legal immigration will meet businesses' needs and thus drive down their demand for illegal-immigrant labor. But any such effect is hard to see in the numbers.

The best argument for considering illegal immigration a distinctive problem is that it undermines respect for the law. But this harm is pretty abstract. It drives popular anxiety about illegal immigration only in the sense that illegal immigration is a symbol of a larger immigration policy that cannot command respect. It points to our political elites' failure to take seriously the responsibility to determine how many people, and which people, we will let in—and that is something that people are capable of getting plenty mad about.

So why do so many people say that they are against illegal immigration but for legal immigration? In part, it's because the distinction creates a handy rhetorical club for the person who makes it. It puts the other side in the position of defending, or seeming to defend, illegality. But I suspect that it's mostly because making the distinction is a way to look reasonable, moderate, and non-racist. "I have no problem with immigrants. My grandparents were immigrants! I just have a problem with the ones who come here illegally." You're objecting to a type of behavior, not a type of person.

And since illegal immigrants have done something bad—broken the law—it is more acceptable to think ill of them than of legal immigrants. Thus it is easy to blame them for the failures of our immigration policy.

There are better ways to be humanitarian. Illegal immigrants come here for the same reasons legal immigrants do: chiefly, to make a better life for themselves and their families. That is not an ignoble ambition; it is one that deserves sympathy and even admiration. The illegal immigrant's law-breaking is wrong, but understandable, and not gravely wrong.

My point here is not to make a case for an immigration policy but to offer some notes on how to think (and how not to think) about immigration. But I do have some views on what that policy should be. I think that America would assimilate its immigrants better, more easily, and faster if the total number of immigrants each year—legal and illegal—were brought down. I think that more assimilation would bring a range of benefits to native-born Americans, to those immigrants we let in, and to future immigrants. I don't think that it is necessary to be angry at immigrants, legal or illegal, to believe these things.

To come up with a rational immigration

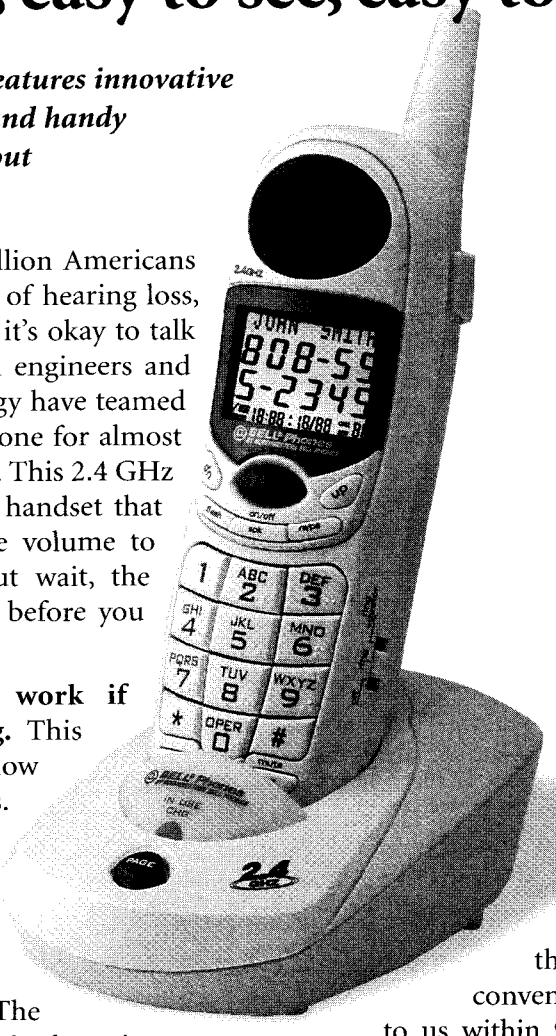
Mr. Ponnuru is an NR senior editor and the author of *Party of Death*, forthcoming from Regnery Publishing in late April.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Finally…a cordless phone that's easy to hear, easy to see, easy to dial

***The cordless AmpliPhone features innovative voice boosting technology and handy features to take the hassle out of talking on the phone.***



If you are one of the 70 million Americans who suffer from some form of hearing loss, we have good news for you; it's okay to talk on the phone again! Design engineers and experts in acoustic technology have teamed up to create the ultimate phone for almost anyone with trouble hearing. This 2.4 GHz phone features a 30 decibel handset that enables you to turn up the volume to whatever level you like. But wait, the benefits of this phone start before you begin the conversation.

**Amplified phones don't work if you don't hear them ring.** This ingenious phone lets you know there's a call in three ways. The ringer can be set extra loud to alert you to calls, the antenna lights up for visual notification and there's even a vibration feature for incoming calls. The only way you won't answer this phone is if you aren't home…or you don't want to. Speaking of unwanted calls, the AmpliPhone has an extra-large backlit Caller ID display. Even in the middle of the night, you'll know who's on the line.

**Even more features…**This phone has got it all, including a big button, Braille augmented keypad, a 20-number memory, 30 channel auto scan for security, handset pager and much more. It's even hearing aid compatible.

**…and our exclusive risk-free home trial.** This phone can help millions of people talk on the phone again. We're so sure that it will help you that we'll let you try it for yourself, in your own home, and if you are not totally thrilled with the quality and convenience, you can send it back to us within 90 days for a complete refund of the product purchase price. Call today.

**The phone of the future is here:**

- 2.4 GHz for clarity and security
- 30 Decibel amplification on demand
- Extra loud ringer with adjustable volume
- Light up and vibrates on incoming calls
- Extra large backlit Caller ID screen – requires Caller ID service through telephone company
- Hands free speakerphone
- Hearing aid compatible
- Extra large Braille augmented keypad
- Rechargeable battery

***The amplified phone that rings, lights up and vibrates!***

**AmpliPhone** Item# 3P-4154

**3 credit card payments of $33.32 each** + S&H

***Please mention promotional code 31113.***

**Call toll-free 24 hours a day**

## 800-488-0429

*To order by mail, please call for details.*

**www.firststreetonline.com**

***3-pay available on phone in orders only.***

firstSTREET®

SEE IT HERE FIRST

1998 Ruffin Mill Road

Colonial Heights, VA 23834

All rights reserved. © 2005 *first*STREET®, Inc.

41542

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

policy, we have to be able to hold two thoughts simultaneously. Immigrants, including illegal immigrants, are human beings with rights, dignity, and legitimate interests. *And* there is no reason to be apologetic about pursuing our national interest. If we think (as I do) that reducing immigration would be good for the country and even, in the long run, for immigrants themselves, we should not feel that we are anti-immigrant. We should protest, in fact, if others say that we are.

If, instead, we continue to obsess about illegal immigration to the exclusion of larger concerns, we are apt to make mistakes. That obsession has distorted the debate over President Bush's immigration proposals, causing both opponents and supporters to focus on the wrong things.

Objections have centered on the "amnesty" that critics say he would give to illegal immigrants already here. But it's the invitation to new "temporary guest workers," not the alleged amnesty to previous migrants, that is the truly momentous feature of Bush's plan. We have a de facto amnesty already, since we're not enforcing immigration laws. We don't have a temporary-worker program.

Some supporters of the president's plan speculate that it could bring total immigration levels down. The argument is that illegal immigrants never leave the U.S. because they are afraid they would have trouble coming back. Let them come and go legally, and fewer of them would settle here. I'm skeptical. But whether Bush's plan has this effect is a more important question than the endlessly disputed question of whether the plan's treatment of illegal immigrants in this country amounts to an amnesty.

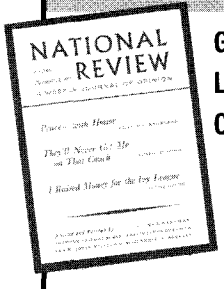
The supporters, meanwhile, use an exaggerated horror at illegal immigration to recruit allies. The presence of millions of illegal immigrants in this country is intolerable, they say. But if deporting all of them is off the table, the only solution left is something like what the president proposes. Creating a legal channel for illegal immigrants to stay here and work—call it an amnesty if you want—is the only way to solve the problem.

As it happens, there is an alternative to deportation and amnesty. Mark Krikorian, the head of the Center for Immigration Studies, argues for an "attrition strategy." Every year, something like 700–800,000 illegal immigrants come here, 50,000 are deported, 150,000 leave, and 25,000 die. (I owe these rough estimates to Krikorian's colleague Steven Camarota.) Stepped-up enforcement of immigration laws, especially at workplaces that tend to use illegal labor, will decrease the first number and increase the second and third. Over time, such tactics could cause the illegal population to shrink.

One of the strengths of Krikorian's strategy, to my mind, is that it does not attempt to bring about an instant solution to a problem that has been decades in the making. It accepts that millions of illegal immigrants will continue to live here while trying to foster improved conditions. But the more intolerable we regard the presence of illegal immigrants, the more we will look on this strength as a weakness—and the more we will be tempted by a quick fix. Define the problem the wrong way, and you'll get the wrong solution. **NR**


**Celebrate NR's 50th**

***With this Handsome, Exact Keepsake Replica of Our 1955 Premier Issue***




**GET THE ISSUE THAT LAUNCHED MODERN CONSERVATISM!**

Volume 1, Number 1 of *NR*—it's a joy to read, and now this historic edition can be a joy to own. Join us in celebrating your favorite conservative magazine's Golden Anniversary by getting your personal keepsake copy of this handsome 32-page reproduction (*exact* to the original in every detail!) of *National Review*'s 1955 premier issue. It's a great gift idea, and costs only $12.99 per copy (we'll ship your order FREE via first-class mail!).

THE VERY ISSUE WHERE *NR* VOWED TO 'STAND ATHWART HISTORY, YELLING STOP!' JUST $12.99! FREE SHIPPING!

**ORDER AT STORE.NATIONALREVIEW.COM**


■ **CONGRESS**

# Messin' with Texas

## Tom DeLay's redistricting affair comes to the Supreme Court

STEPHEN SPRUIELL

THE saga of the 2003 Texas redistricting—which reached its nadir when 51 state Democrats fled to a Holiday Inn in Oklahoma to prevent the quorum necessary for a vote on the plan—neared its final chapter this month at the U.S. Supreme Court, where the justices heard aggrieved Democrats make the case that the new map is unconstitutional. The justices will not render judgment on the case until early summer, but there are several indications that they will decide—correctly—that the redistricting should stand.

A coalition of Democrats argued that the mid-decade redistricting was unconstitutional because Republicans undertook it for purely political reasons. In 2000, the U.S. Census gave Texas two additional seats in the House of Representatives. Because the Texas legislature was divided—Republicans held the senate, Democrats the house—the parties couldn't work together to draw a new map, so the responsibility fell to a three-judge federal district court to adopt one of several proposals from a redistricting board. Although Republicans dominated the board, the result did little to change the Democratic gerrymandering of years past. As a result, Democrats retained a 17–15 majority of the Texas congressional delegation after the 2002 elections, despite winning only 44 percent of the state's congressional votes.

Meanwhile, Tom DeLay—then majority whip in the U.S. House—had helped elect a Republican majority to the Texas house for the first time since


**Mr. Spruiell writes the media blog for National Review Online.**

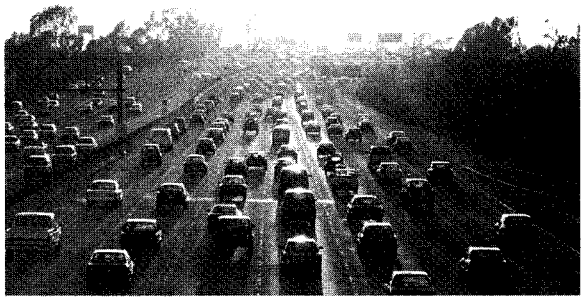




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*To some, sunglasses are a fashion accessory...*

# But When Driving, These Sunglasses May Save Your Life!



**Drivers Alert:** ***Driving can expose you to more dangerous glare than any sunny summer day at the beach can...do you know how to protect yourself?***

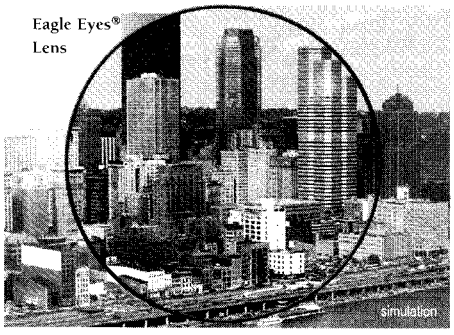
An amazing breakthrough in optic technology by NASA resulting in Eagle Eyes® can be your answer. The sun rises and sets at peak travel periods, during the early morning and afternoon rush hours. Many drivers find themselves temporarily blinded as they are driving directly into the glare of the sun. Deadly accidents are regularly caused by such blinding glare. Danger can come from reflected light off of another vehicle, from the pavement, or any other reflective surface. Early morning frost or dew can exacerbate this situation. Salted or snowy road conditions can make matters even worse. Yet, motorists struggle on despite being blinded by the sun's glare and cause countless accidents every year.

## Beware of windshield glare!

This glare-induced "blindness" is especially prevalent in the early morning or late in the afternoon, and due to the extremely reflective qualities of other cars. Even your windshield can make matters worse since wax and oil buildup can increase reflected glare. This powerful glare of the sun is damaging to the various layers of the eye. Certain road conditions may raise the amount of harmful UV that you are exposed to by 85%.

## NASA's researchers looked to nature for a solution.

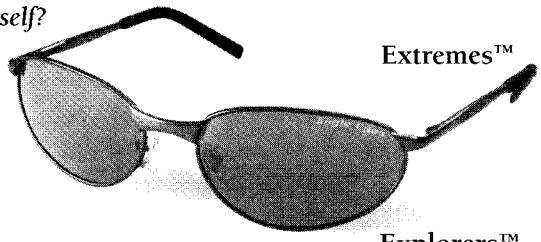
Conventional sunglasses can in fact blur your vision by exposing your eye to harmful



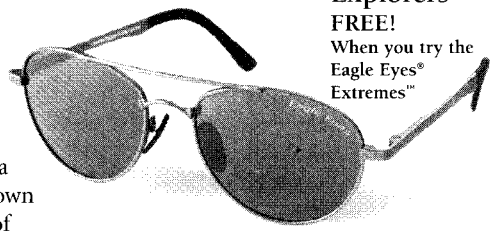

Slip on a pair of Eagle Eyes® and everything instantly appears more vivid and sharp. You'll immediately notice that your eyes are more comfortable and relaxed and you'll feel no need to squint. The scientifically designed sunglasses are not just fashion accessories—they are necessary to protect your eyes from those harmful rays produced by the sun during peak driving times.

*"As a board certified ophthalmologist, I recommend Eagle Eyes® to all my patients to protect and enhance their vision!"*

*—Dr. Lyda D. Tymiak*



Extremes™



Explorers™ FREE! When you try the Eagle Eyes® Extremes™

UV, blue light rays, and reflective glare. They can also darken useful vision-enhancing light. At NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory, scientists looked to nature for a solution by studying the eyes of eagles, known for their extreme visual acuity. The result of this breakthrough optical technology is Eagle Eyes®. NASA's researchers studied how eagles can simultaneously distinguish their prey from their surroundings with utmost precision, while protecting their eyes from the daily exposure of harmful high-energy sunlight. These studies led to this revolutionary protection for human eyesight.

POLARIZED • PATENTED Authentic SOLAR Lens Technology

Patented EAGLE EYES® uses NASA technology and are on display at NASA's Johnson Space Center.

## Patented triple filtering lens system.

With a patented triple filtering system, Eagle Eyes® will reduce the blinding glare you may encounter while driving or enjoying outside activities. The lenses will block the UV light while enhancing the colors of your surrounding environment. Eagle Eyes® provides 100% eye protection from harmful blue, violet and ultraviolet light rays. You can experience enhanced visual acuity, even at great distances in most weather conditions. Even on cloudy days, the advanced lens technology improves your visual acuity.

## Not just one pair–A second pair FREE!

Ninety-eight percent of people wearing Eagle Eyes love them. It's the highest customer satisfaction rate that we have seen in our 20 years history. We are so anxious for you to try the Eagle Eyes® breakthrough technology that when you call for the Eagle Eyes® Extremes™ we will give you the Explorers™ FREE!

That's two ways to protect your eyes and prevent blinding glare for less than the price of one pair of traditional sunglasses. You'll also receive free one hard leatherette case and one soft cloth pouch so you can carry and protect your Eagle Eyes® in style. Plus, if you are not thrilled with the Eagle Eyes® technology, just send them back for a full refund of the purchase price. You should always have a pair of sunglasses available when you drive, so put Eagle Eyes® in all of your cars and start seeing the world without the dangerous squinting and with more clarity than you've ever imagined.

**Eagle Eyes® Sunglasses Extremes™ *only* $49.95 +S&H**

***Receive the Explorers™ absolutely FREE!—2 pair for the price of one!***

**Clip-ons *available for* $29.95 +S&H**

*Perfect for prescription glass wearers! We have four different clip-on sizes available. Please see our website* ***www.nextten.com*** *for your correct size or ask your NextTen sales representative.*

**Promotional Code EGL341-10**
**Please mention this when you call.**
**Call to order toll-free,**
**24 hours a day, 7 days a week.**

# 800-859-1802

NEXTTEN

14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. EGL341-10 Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

*For information on all our products:*
***www.NextTen.com***

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reconstruction, giving the GOP control of both houses of the legislature as well as the governor's office. DeLay wasted no time urging the legislature to draw a new map, telling the Associated Press after one meeting with Texas Republicans, "We are . . . calling on the legislature to do their job, to ask them to assume their responsibilities that the Constitution gives them and draw the line to properly reflect what Texas is all about."

The new Texas house speaker, Tom Craddick, set about passing the DeLay-backed proposal to add five safe GOP districts to the Texas delegation, and eventually succeeded. After the 2004 elections, the composition of the Texas congressional delegation had changed dramatically: Republicans outnumbered Democrats 21–11, building the total GOP House majority to 30.

Democrats have argued that this redistricting plan is unconstitutional because it was undertaken in the middle of the decade solely for partisan advantage—and that if the plan were allowed to stand, majorities in state legislatures would pass redistricting plans whenever they wanted in order to entrench incumbents or gain seats. But Texas Republicans have put forward two compelling counterarguments. First, they argued that the Texas redistricting was not "purely partisan": It served two other purposes. Following the principle that "a majority should elect a majority," the 2003 plan rectified the old map's undeniably antimajoritarian entrenchments; and it properly transferred the redistricting prerogative from the court to the state legislature. Second, they argued that the Constitution provides a check for the sort of partisan misbehavior envisioned by the Democrats: It gives state legislatures the power to draw congressional districts, but it also gives the U.S. Congress the power to override that authority if things get out of hand. "The Framers chose political checks for the problem of partisan gerrymandering," Texas solicitor general R. Ted Cruz told the Court.

During oral arguments, Justice Anthony Kennedy made no secret of the fact that he did not think the Texas plan met the definition of a purely partisan redistricting. He appeared to accept the argument that the redistricting had been undertaken to counter past Democratic gerrymandering, and said, "It seems to me very dangerous for this Court to take away that control mechanism." Justices Stephen Breyer, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, and David Souter also sounded skeptical during oral arguments. (Souter quipped: "It is impossible, and let's even assume it's undesirable, to take partisanship out of the political process.")

While a majority of justices expressed doubts about the challenge to the map as a whole, some—Kennedy in particular—seemed more receptive to arguments that two specific districts on the map were legally problematic. The Democrats argued that the legislature had *concentrated* Latinos in Congressional District 25, as part of an unconstitutional racial gerrymander; and a Hispanic advocacy group argued that the legislature had unfairly *removed* some of the Latinos from Congressional District 23—thereby diluting the Latino vote, in violation of the Voting Rights Act.

**The Democrats just want their old gerrymandered map back.**

If that sounds contradictory, it's because the plaintiffs don't all want the same result from this case. Latinos want to keep their new majority in District 25, and they also want the Court to order Texas to add back about 100,000 Hispanics who were redrawn out of District 23. Nina Perales, an attorney for G.I. Forum (a Latino veterans group), argued that this violated the Voting Rights Act by reducing Latinos in District 23 to a "razor-thin" majority of 51 percent—not enough, in other words, to vote seven-term Republican congressman Henry Bonilla (a Hispanic) out of office.

The Democrats, however, just want their old gerrymandered map back. Lloyd Doggett, the Anglo Democrat who currently represents District 25, ran virtually unopposed in almost every reelection campaign before redistricting. But in 2004, he faced a bruising challenge in the Democratic primary from former district judge Leticia Hinojosa. He won 64 percent of the vote, but the fight was brutal—and Democrats want to avoid a recurrence.

The State of Texas argued that the state legislature has the constitutional authority to redraw congressional districts, and that the legislature drew District 23 according to political, not racial, considerations; specifically, the lines were drawn so that Bonilla would have an easier time getting reelected. The Democratic voters who were targeted just happened to be Hispanic.

The state legislature offset the changes that took Latino voters out of District 23 by creating a new Hispanic-majority district in District 25, which—as noted above—upset the Democrats for reasons unrelated to their ostentatious defense of minority rights. This change took race into account only because the Voting Rights Act prohibits "retrogression" in the number of minority-majority districts—not because the legislators were intent on diluting the minority vote in the state.

The Voting Rights Act clearly puts legislators in a tough spot when they are trying to draw new congressional districts: They must not draw district lines according to race, except when they must. Justice Antonin Scalia told Perales as much after she said that upholding the Texas redistricting plan would give states "free rein to use race to manipulate outcomes." "Of course you want to use race to manipulate outcomes," Scalia replied. "Just sometimes." Justice Kennedy, however, appeared to disagree with Scalia on whether these new districts were permissible. If legislators had designed District 23 to give merely the *appearance* of a majority, he said, that would seem "like an affront and an insult."

If a majority of the Court orders the State of Texas to redraw Districts 23 and 25, it would set an unfortunate precedent—but it would not dramatically alter the composition of the Texas congressional delegation. If, however, the Court finds the *entire* 2003 Texas redistricting unconstitutional, the results would be dramatic, and cataclysmic for Republicans. But there's no need to panic: The mountain of contradictions on which the plan's opponents have built their case leaves one with the impression that the justices will affirm the lower court's decision—allowing Texas Republicans to go on electing representatives who represent them. **NR**


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Big Lie (I)

## Are the "occupied territories" really occupied territories?

As Adolf Hitler discovered, the Big Lie will eventually be accepted as the truth. The Big Lie, the monster whopper of our time, is that the provinces of Judea/Samaria, often called the "Bank," are "occupied territories."

### What are the facts?

**A Brief History:** Most of the area now called the Middle East was part of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire before World War I. Germany lost the war and so did its ally Turkey. The Ottoman Empire ceased to exist and the League of Nations assigned Britain and France as the mandatory powers.

France assumed mandatory control over what is now Syria and Lebanon. Britain assumed mandatory control over all the rest, including "Palestine," which comprised all that is now Jordan and Israel, including the "West Bank." The Golan Heights, which Syria now claims as its age-old patrimony, was originally part of Palestine.

In 1917, the British issued the Balfour Declaration, under which Palestine was to be the homeland for the Jewish people. In 1921,Winston Churchill, who was then Colonial Secretary of Great Britain, separated all the land east of the Jordan River from the territory designated to be the Jewish homeland, and awarded it to the Hashemites, who established the kingdom of Transjordan.

The Arabs, whipped up by their fanatic clergy, fiercely opposed the presence of the Jews on what they considered "sacred Moslem territory." There was constant warfare between the two groups, which the British tried to arbitrate, always favoring the Arabs, whom they considered more important to their imperial interests.

In 1947, the British decided that they had enough and resigned the Mandate. They left the Arab-Jewish antagonists to their own devices and turned it over to the United Nations. Their solution was to partition Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state. The area west of the Jordan River (the "West Bank") and the Gaza Strip were allotted to the Arabs. Jerusalem was to be an "international" zone. After much soul searching, the Jews accepted the partition and, in April 1948, declared their independence in the area allotted to them by the partition. The Arabs rejected the partition out of hand. On the very day of Israel's birth, five Arab armies invaded the nascent Jewish State. In what must be considered an almost Biblical miracle, the rag-tag Jewish forces decisively defeated the combined Arab might. But Israel had suffered enormous casualties – 6,000 dead, about one percent of its population.

> "The Big Lie of Israel's 'occupation' has been repeated so long and so often that even people of good faith have come to believe it and to accept it."

**Israel not an "occupier:"** Israel stayed in control of most of the area east of the Jordan River, except for the Gaza Strip, which stayed under Egyptian control. The "West Bank" and the eastern part of Jerusalem stayed under the control of Transjordan, which promptly renamed itself Jordan and proceeded to ruthlessly expel all Jews and to obliterate all vestiges of over 2,000 years of Jewish presence in that land.

In the 1967 Six-Day War, Israel recovered the "West Bank," the eastern part of Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip, conquered Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, and conquered and annexed the Golan Heights. During the 19 years that Jordan and Egypt were in possession of the "West Bank" and the Gaza Strip, it didn't occur to them or to anybody else that the Palestinians should have a state or even that they were a distinct nationality. The claim for that did not arise until after the Six-Day War.

Jews have been living in Judea/Samaria since Biblical times. The area was made judenrein (free of Jews), following the Nazi model, by Jordan, when it was in possession of the territory. After 1967, Jews moved back into the territory and a great hullabaloo was raised and is still being raised about the not more than 200,000 "settlers," who do not occupy more than 2 percent of the area. But there is no concern about the hundreds of thousands of Arabs, who, lured by the prosperity of Israel, have flooded into the area, nor of the more than one million Arabs who live in Israel proper and who enjoy full rights of citizenship.

Israel acquired the territories (the "West Bank" and Gaza) in defense of an aggressive war waged against it. No country in history has ever been asked to return such territories. Do the Poles return the huge chunk of Germany that they acquired in the wake of World War II? Do the Czechs return the Sudetenland, do the French return Alsace-Lorraine? Of course not! Only Israel is being asked to return such territories. The last sovereign of the "West Bank" and of Gaza were the Ottomans. The "West Bank" and Gaza are unallocated territories. To speak of Israel as "occupier"is preposterous; to speak of it, as Kofi Annan, the Secretary General of the UN does, as "illegal occupiers," is poisonous slander. He knows better. But unfortunately, the Big Lie of Israel's "occupation" has been repeated so long and so often that even people of good faith have come to believe it and to accept it.

**This ad has been published and paid for by**

**FLAME**

*Facts and Logic About the Middle East*
*P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco, CA 94159*
*Gerardo Joffe, President*

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational 501 (c)(3) organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world. Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and for related direct mail.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ THE ANGLOSPHERE

# Why Wets Are All Wet

Conservatives ought to run dry—i.e., as conservatives

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

SUZANNE FIELDS in a recent column detected some eerie crunching sounds that she worried might be early signs of the conservative coalition's cracking up. By my count the conservative coalition has been cracking up regularly since Ronald Reagan left office and R. Emmett Tyrrell heard very similar sounds. Blows were then exchanged between libertarians and the Christian Right. But the Democrats encouraged the coalition to get together again.

The immediate cause of Ms. Fields's anxiety was Rod Dreher's new book launching the cause of "crunchy conservatism." This argues that conservative support for free markets should be tempered by concern for nature, family life, religion, and social stability. My sense is that conservatism, as opposed to libertarianism, has always accepted such limits to pure capitalist competition. I share Jonah Goldberg's feeling that Rod is exaggerating the novelty of crunchy conservatism and in the process giving himself a not-wholly-deserved pat on the back: "Lord, Lord, I thank thee that I am not as these other conservatives who shop not wisely but too well." This may be irritating but it hardly constitutes a deep moral divide. So I doubt that either NATIONAL REVIEW or the wider conservative movement will crack up over crunchiness.

But Ms. Fields's antennae had picked up real anxieties all the same—in fact she had hit on two. First, the faithful are concerned that both the White House and Congress have betrayed traditional conservative values on a wide range of policies from the budget to immigration. Second, they sense from opinion polls that the GOP might lose control of the legislative and executive branches in the 2006 and 2008 elections, respectively. Add together these two anxieties and you have the oldest problem in politics: You have sold your soul for a mess of pottage—and you may not get the mess of pottage.

As long as the GOP clings to power, this nagging sense of emptiness can be held at bay. Doing new things, even mistaken or heretical things, is a distraction. Once the GOP finds itself ejected from power either wholly or in part, however, conservatives will have to come to terms with the gradual replacement of their philosophy by catchy slogans such as "compassionate conservatism." And if tax cuts have themselves been cut or neutered by then, they will have little to show for their support of the party—some good judicial appointments, holding the line on abortion, not much else. What will conservatism, crunchy or otherwise, then do?

Britain's Tory party illustrates the dangers. The Tories have not really known what they stood for since midway through the John Major administration (1992–97) when Major's "managerialism" hit the skids on the day the pound fell out of the European Exchange Rate Mechanism. Tory elders wanted to distance themselves from Mrs. Thatcher because she was thought to be harsh, uncaring, and unpopular. But there was no alternative approach readily to hand. And the attempts to shape a new philosophy of "modernization" (by Michael Portillo and his supporters in 2001) never really got beyond the stage of slogans and short-term tactical maneuvers such as gender preferences in candidate selection. It was little more than sincere flattery of Tony Blair.

Under three leaders—all able and decent—this ideological stalemate continued. Party infighting ensured that no single consistent political strategy was adopted. And the sense of moral hollowness at the core of post-Thatcherite Toryism became almost tangible. You might say there was perfect sympathy between the party and the voters: The party had nothing to say and the voters were not interested in listening to it anyway.

All this changed late last year when David Cameron was elected party leader on a wave of enthusiasm. All of a sudden press and public were interested in the Tories and their glamorous new champion. He was explicitly promising a "modern compassionate conservatism" for a new Britain. And in late February he produced his detailed prescription.

What does it say? What does it ignore? And what is the political strategy underlying it?

What it ignores is rather more important than what it says. Its 614 words say nothing about (in no particular order) Iran, Iraq, the police, Muslim diasporas in Britain, immigration, multiculturalism, or the European Union. Some of these topics are arguably alluded to in the soft and mollifying phrases that characterize the document. But the general impression that it gives is a firm desire to blur every contentious issue in order not to offend anyone.

What it says is more complex and more devious. It opens with the new Tory party's aims ("a dynamic economy . . . a strong society . . . a sustainable environment"), goes on to its values ("trust . . . a shared responsibility for our shared future"), refers in passing to the actual Tory party ("open and inclusive . . . representative of modern Britain"), and gets finally to the nub of "what we're fighting for."

Here the document seems to be arguing that the Tories should junk many of their traditional conservative values and sign on to a philosophy that is halfway between Rod's crunchy conservatism and a paternalistic, interventionist social democracy that the new sentimental Britain is believed to favor. A few examples:

Item One: "We will put economic stability and fiscal responsibility first. They must come before tax cuts. Over time, we will share the proceeds of growth between public services and lower taxes."

Item Two: "We will improve the [National Health Service] and schools for everyone, not help a few to opt out."

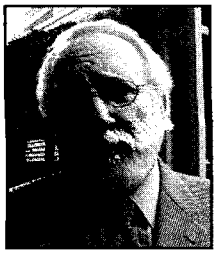
Item Three: "It is our moral obligation to make poverty history. We will fight for free and fair trade, increase international aid, and press for further debt relief."

Item Four: "We understand the limitations of government, but are not limited in our aspirations for government. We believe in the role of government as a force for good."

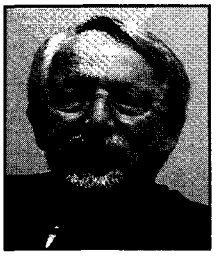
The problem with these high-sounding declarations is that they clash with important realities that Thatcherite conservatism understood. For instance, the argument


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# A riveting 12-minute documentary exposes what law enforcement officials really think about drug prohibition.



**Chief Norm Stamper**
**Seattle Police Dept. (ret.)**
"The Drug War has arguably been the single most devastating, dysfunctional social policy since slavery."



**Lt. Jack Cole**
**New Jersey State Police (ret.)**
**12 years undercover narcotics**
"Over a thousand young people went to jail as a direct result of what I did out there as one undercover agent...something I'm certainly not proud of today."

**Capt. Peter Christ**
**Tonawanda NY Police Dept. (ret.)**
"What happens when you arrest a drug dealer? Nothing. Nothing changes."

**Minch Lewis**
**Auditor, City of Syracuse NY (ret.)**
"If we really want to improve our urban neighborhoods, the single most important thing we could do is end the War On Drugs."

**"Anyone concerned about the failure of our $69 billion-a-year War on Drugs should watch this 12-minute program. You will meet front line, ranking police officers who give us a devastating report on why it cannot work. It is a must-see for any journalist or public official dealing with this issue."**

**Walter Cronkite**

Visit **www.leap.cc** to view this compelling 12-minute program.

**LEAP (Law Enforcement Against Prohibition):** A 5,000 member organization created to: (1) give voice to law enforcers who know the US War on Drugs is a failed policy and (2) support Legalized Regulation of drugs as an alternative that will lower the incidence of death, disease, crime and addiction while saving tax dollars.

**Courtesy of Common Sense for Drug Policy**
**www.CSDP.org www.DrugWarFacts.org**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that economic stability must come before tax cuts ignores the fact that tax cuts stimulate economic growth and so contribute to stability. They are not sweeties handed out to the sweaty nightcaps. Similarly, the right to opt out of state services and take some of your money with you in the form of vouchers is a better method of improving those services than relying on the complaints of captive consumers to do so. And, finally, if "fair trade" is incorporated in government policy, then it will inevitably restrict free trade.

But this is where political strategy comes into play. The Cameronians point out that almost every one of the six statements is balanced (or, if you prefer, contradictory). The item on making poverty history, for instance, ends with this point: "We will also take action to build those institutions—like the rule of law and property rights—that support development." That on taxation concludes: "Over time, we will share the proceeds of growth between public services and lower taxes—instead of letting government spend an ever-increasing share of national income." And the section on public services argues that "services paid for by the state don't have to be run by the state. We will trust professionals and share responsibility—instead of controlling professionals in state monopolies." In other words, what the left hand giveth, the right hand taketh away a little of. Or that is what they quietly tell nervous friends.

They even have a scenario or "narrative" to accompany the document. The soft-sounding leftish principles are designed to drive right-wing loyalists such as Norman Tebbit and Ann Widdecombe to protest noisily. That would constitute the moment that the modernizers have long schemed to provoke when, imitating Tony Blair's victory over the paleo-socialist Left, they will stand up to the Right and establish themselves as moderate and non-nasty in the eyes of all nice people. Thus fortified with popular approval from the left, they can win an election on the high-sounding general principles and then govern on the basis of the fine-print qualifications—dividing the proceeds of growth between the government and the taxpayer, etc., etc.

But this scenario is not going according to plan. Lord Tebbit and Ms. Widdecombe are much too smart to fall into such an obvious trap. They quickly declared that they could happily sign the document, which contained nothing very new, even if the language in it was dripping wet. The confrontation proved to be not a bang but a whimper. Nor are the long-term elements of this strategy very persuasive. Though we may well campaign in poetry and govern in prose, as Mario Cuomo once said, it is naïve to believe that a political leader can campaign on soothing sentimental Left platitudes and then retain public support when he tries to implement a firmer and more realistic conservative program. He would not be able to carry his program through against a resentful electorate, cynical media, and a manipulated party.

It is naïve to believe that a political leader can campaign on soothing sentimental Left platitudes and then retain public support when he tries to implement a firmer and more realistic conservative program.

What such a strategy mainly reveals is that the hollowness at the heart of British conservatism has not been filled by anything more substantial than calculation. The Tories are still a party in search of a political philosophy, an empty vessel that, these days, is making a little more noise.

It is not a model that American conservatives should wish to emulate. If the GOP is looking for an example of a conservative party that is robust philosophically and successful electorally, it need look no farther than John Howard's Australian Liberal party. Howard has won four successive elections, introduced a series of major conservative economic reforms, presided over astonishing growth in the Australian economy, and won over sections of the electorate that until recently were wedded to the Labour party. There are many reasons for Howard's success. Most frequently mentioned is his perseverance. But I will hazard one of my own: Howard would rather be right than nice. NR

■ THE MIDDLE EAST

# Curse of the Militias

## What Balkanization has done to Iraq, Lebanon, and others

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

IRAQ is teetering on the brink of civil war, or so the watching world believes and bemoans. Just one more major atrocity, and it'll be worse than Lebanon in the 1980s, the fragile regime will collapse and the country will break apart, the Turks and the Iranians will move in, and here comes another war in the Middle East.

It's instructive to compare and contrast Lebanon and Iraq. Civil war has always been latent in both countries, exploding regularly into bloodshed—and for very clear reasons. Molded out of outlying provinces of the Ottoman Empire, neither Lebanon nor Iraq has ever had a national identity, or anything that might pass for it. Both were agglomerations of peoples with separate ethnic, communal, and religious identities, altogether a joy to students of ethnography and theology: Maronites and Druze and Arabs in Lebanon, Kurds and Chaldeans and Turkmen and Arabs in Iraq, to name but some. In these Middle East versions of the Balkans, territory and boundaries are flexible concepts, and citizenship nonexistent. The human and social cement for one and all lies in the family, the tribe, the sect, or religious confession, not in statehood or nationhood. Allegiance to those of one's own kind is what counts.

Competition between component groups for the best place in the sun promotes injustice and violence. Shiite Arabs have long stood out as conspicuous losers. A majority in Iraq and probably in Lebanon too, they have been

Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor. Among his many books is *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

denied the power due their numbers. In the eyes of Sunnis, moreover, Shiites are not true believers but heretics, who therefore deserve a destiny as second-class people. A popular saying expresses the Shiite sense of historic oppression: "Taxes and death are for the Shiites while official jobs are for the Sunnis."

An early sign of the upheavals ahead came in 1860, when the Ottoman Turks proved too weak to prevent communal massacres in their Lebanese provinces. Acting in the spirit of that age, the Western powers intervened to put a stop to this proto-genocide. To govern the country, they then promulgated an Organic Statute. This set up a restricted council of a dozen or so men with authority to speak on behalf of their own kind—a sort of trial-and-error proportional representation. This skillful example of colonial fixing survived until Lebanon acquired its independence after the Second World War. Continuous attempts by every community and minority to manipulate the trial-and-error proportional representation in their favor have subsequently perpetuated Lebanon as an arena of imminent or actual civil war. Statehood and nationhood are still more notional than real.

Occupying Iraq in the First War, the British faced the same communal free-for-all. Still at the expense of the Shiites, they resorted to sleight of hand to put the Sunnis into power, and they then cut and run, just as some want the United States to do today. For decades, extreme violence on the part of the Sunnis kept the lid on civil war while guaranteeing that it would erupt whenever it could. So Iraq too has remained only an approximate nation and state.

Almost exactly a hundred years after the first Western intervention, the United States sent troops into Lebanon, once more to check civil war (with the added incentive to counter what looked at the time like the growing Soviet hold on the Middle East). However, the spirit of the modern age was very different. In the interim, people everywhere had acquired the sovereign right to do as much harm to themselves as they pleased. This time there was nobody willing or able to devise and decree an up-to-date Organic Statute that would have laid the base for a successful state and nation.

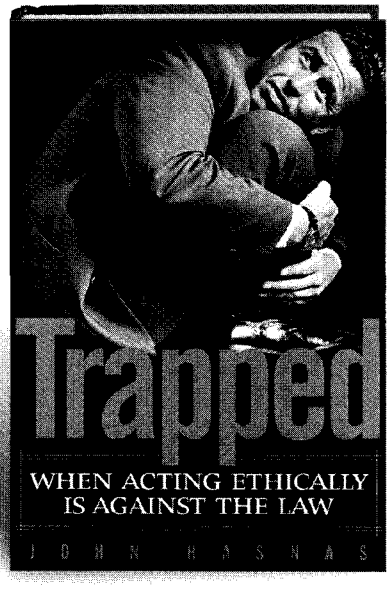
Instead the leaders of the various communities and minorities armed militias in order to protect and advance their own kind. The Kataeb or Phalangists, Tigers, Murabitun, the Jumblatt Druze, Amal, the several Palestinian factions and eventually the Israeli army, were a joy to political scientists. For the best part of two decades, these multiple armed forces condemned the country to a hellish merry-go-round of improvised alliances and mutual betrayals that left the definition of the nation and state as fluid as ever. Invading and occupying the country, Syria did not end the inter-communal causes of the fighting but drove them underground to fester.

Among the militias, Amal fought for the Shiites, and it was something of a portent. Amal was the creation of the charismatic imam Musa al-Sadr, born in Iran into a famous family of clerics (and a relation by marriage to Ayatollah Khomeini), but settling in Lebanon. As sectarian fighting spread, he recruited and armed the Shiites to join in the alliances and betrayals all around them, so that the downtrodden became a force equivalent or superior to others. As in a lurid crime novel, one day the imam disappeared without trace in Libya, and his murder has never been solved.

Another Iranian, Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, began as an Amal ideologue, but he moved on to become leader of Hezbollah, yet another Shiite militia in Lebanon, openly financed, armed, and controlled by the ayatollahs in Tehran. From the outset, Hezbollah has been a byword for terrorism, graduating from kidnapping and beheading of hostages to wiring cars with bombs to kill particular targets and any bystanders caught in the blast. Its innovative specialty has been suicide bombers, and it has popularized the now widespread notion that these bombers kill themselves because they prefer death to life. Hezbollah or its agents killed 243 American Marines in Beirut, and boasts that it has driven Israel back and knows how to drive it back still farther.

More than useful tools, these militias have been part and parcel of the handiwork of Ayatollah Khomeini. For him and his heirs, Islam, and Islam alone, is all that every Muslim needs by way of a state and a nation. Iranian in origin


**The campaign against white-collar crime has created a Catch-22 legal environment in which business-people must act either unethically or illegally.**




"This is a book for everyone who has a stake in successful and ethical business enterprises."

**— John Mackey**
Cofounder and CEO, Whole Foods Market

**$12.95 paper, 1-930865-88-0**
*Available in bookstores nationwide or by calling 800-767-1241.*
***www.cato.org***

CATO INSTITUTE




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

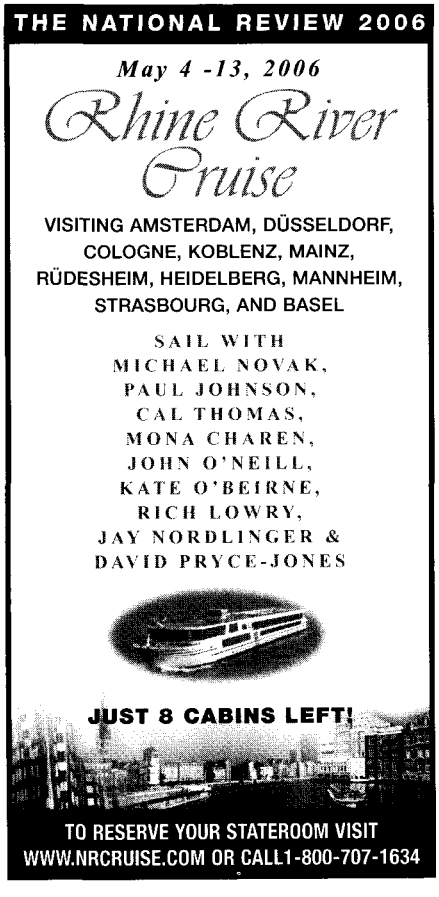
though it is, his brand of Shiite triumphalism affects Muslims everywhere, and the wider world too. Nothing like it has been seen in centuries.

What are Sunnis to do? Saddam Hussein went in for the traditional response, invading Iran, and depicting the subsequent campaigns and battles in terms borrowed from the 7th century when the divide between Sunnis and Shiites first became an issue of doctrine. His defeat and downfall devolves Sunni leadership to Saudi Arabia. The Saudis have no capacity for fighting and probably are unable to put effective military units into the field, and financing preachers and practitioners of their extremist form of Sunni Islam is no substitute.

The terrorist Abu Musab Zarqawi and Saddamite diehards believe themselves to be defending the identity of Sunnis, their community. Zarqawi openly despises Shiites as heretics, and boasts of how many he will kill. The Shiite Badr brigade, or the cleric Moqtada al-Sadr with his Mahdi militia, are indistinguishable in tactics and practice. The demolition of the Golden Mosque in Samarra, the wretched handcuffed and tortured corpses laid out on the mortuary curb, the random suicide bombs, are not so much signs of civil war as inter-communal tests of strength. The brutality, the cruelty, serves the exemplary purpose of showing that whoever stands in the way of the perpetrator and his community can expect no mercy. Atrocities such as the murder of Rafik Hariri and other prominent Lebanese, bombing of churches, attempted kidnappings, provide similar evidence that this violence is instrumental and endemic in the region, not simply the crisis of the hour.

Leaders from all communities in the Middle East have lived their whole lives with these realities; they know from hard experience how to negotiate, and they are able to turn violence on and off in exact degrees to suit their purposes. In the background, largely invisible and therefore unreported, roundtable processes are under way, calculated to fill the political void, and not so very different in character from the roundtables that ended Communism in the Soviet bloc. In Beirut, in the parliament building, leaders of the different communities, Christian, Druze, Shiite and Sunni, pro-Syrian and anti-Syrian, pro-Iran and anti-Iran, are having what former president Amin Gemayel calls a dialogue that "lays the foundation for a new period . . . one of independence." Photographs show them smiling and hugging, even though their militias have been conditioned to kill each other.

In Baghdad, the virtual disintegration of the Jaafari government creates a void, and violence fills it as leaders stake out their positions. But all from President Talabani and Ayatollah Sistani downwards are publicly calling for unity. Compromise of communal and sectarian identities is the prerequisite of a nation and a state. Whatever the political, geostrategic, or other dictates and interests originally in play, the American presence in Iraq unexpectedly, and surely temporarily, holds the balance between Shiite triumphalism and Sunni refusal to accept change. Conditions are right for another Organic Statute and more trial-and-error proportional representation, and if those round the table do it for themselves, the spirit of the age will indeed have moved on. **NR**



THE NATIONAL REVIEW 2006
May 4 -13, 2006
Rhine River Cruise
VISITING AMSTERDAM, DÜSSELDORF, COLOGNE, KOBLENZ, MAINZ, RÜDESHEIM, HEIDELBERG, MANNHEIM, STRASBOURG, AND BASEL
SAIL WITH MICHAEL NOVAK, PAUL JOHNSON, CAL THOMAS, MONA CHAREN, JOHN O'NEILL, KATE O'BEIRNE, RICH LOWRY, JAY NORDLINGER & DAVID PRYCE-JONES
JUST 8 CABINS LEFT!
TO RESERVE YOUR STATEROOM VISIT WWW.NRCRUISE.COM OR CALL1-800-707-1634


■ CULTURE WATCH

# Chief of the Fat Police

## Bill Clinton's new role

DAVE SHIFLETT

On Fat Tuesday, repentant sinner Bill Clinton declared war on cheeseburgers, fried oysters, fudge, and other tools of the devil. Identified by the Associated Press as "a reformed overeater," Bill, looking quite ghostly when compared with the robust figure he cut in his glory days, warned the National Governors Association that America has "a huge cultural problem and unless we change it our children may grow up to be the first generation with shorter life spans than we had."

The problem, according to Clinton, is that Americans are serious chowhounds whose love of grub is a major threat not only to themselves, but to the national economy. According to the Associated Press, Clinton noted that if the U.S. could reduce health spending—now 16 percent of GDP—to 11 percent (in line with what other countries spend), the savings would be $700 billion. But it won't be easy. "No matter what else you say, no matter what different studies show, you've got to consume less and burn more," Clinton said. "To do that you've got to change the culture." The governors, many of whom support anti-fat school programs, responded with thunderous applause.

It is clear to some of us that this drastic turnaround in Clinton's viewpoint is the result of post-traumatic stress disorder brought on by that ill-advised investigation of his romantic life, capped by impeachment. Back in the day, he preferred a little plumpness: Monica, let us recall, was only a few corpuscles shy of being renamed Lulu. Now he's become


Mr. Shiflett is the author of *Exodus: Why Americans Are Fleeing Liberal Churches for Conservative Christianity.*




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

yet another leading American who believes it's his duty to tell us what we should and should not be eating.

Clinton's warning was no doubt welcomed by the health authorities, especially in light of a recent study indicating that eating less fat late in life does not lower the risk of cancer and heart disease in women. That $415 million investigation "showed no difference in the rate of breast cancer, colon cancer, and heart disease among those who ate lower-fat diets and those who didn't," according to a press account. This wasn't what researchers were hoping for. "These results do not suggest that people have carte blanche to eat fatty foods without health problems," snipped Dr. JoAnn Manson, chief of preventive medicine at Harvard's Brigham and Women's Hospital and co-author of the study. "The results, of course, are somewhat disappointing."

Yet we should take Clinton's transformation seriously, especially the part about changing the culture. Whenever an American icon says "change the culture," it's time to fix bayonets.

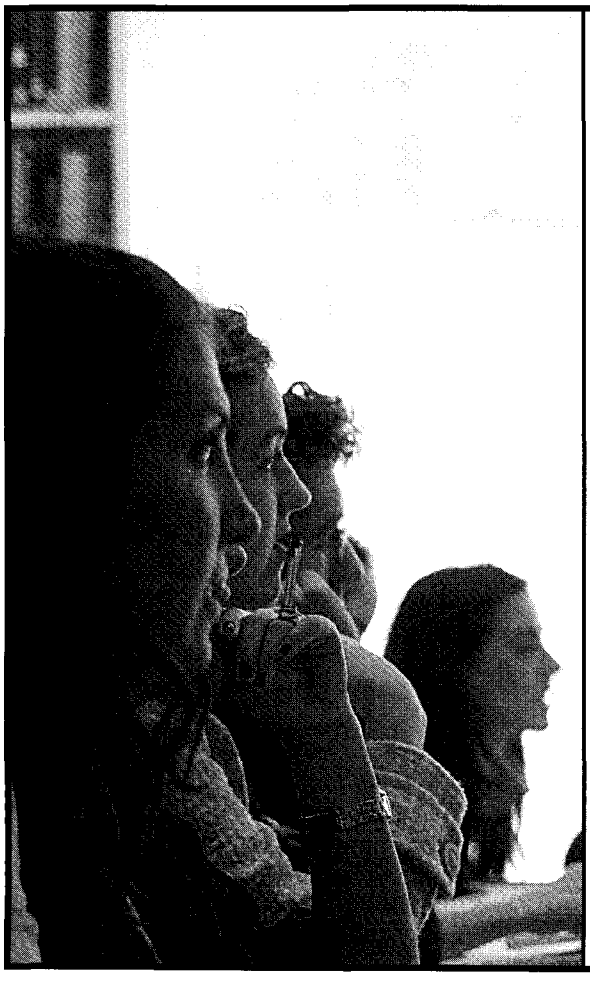
The message Bill and his ilk hope to pound into the public consciousness is that every time we order French fries we do damage not only to ourselves, but to the nation's economy and our children's future. This same argument holds that we commit sin against the earth by driving cars and running weed eaters, etc., etc. Each individual act is measured against the common good—and is generally found wanting. Only dangerous sex is exempt from this wide-ranging scowl.

This is a major turnaround. To our ancestors the current state of culinary affairs would represent paradise. To be able to walk into a Kroger and purchase, at very reasonable prices, French wine, Swiss chocolates, cow tongues and filets, éclairs, massive bags of ginger snaps, rivers of honey and thick crème, butter and pretty much whatever else the taste buds crave—that could hardly be imagined.

We live by radically different standards these days, which should not be confused with reasonable ones. Monica may have been a bit of a chunk but by Bill's new view she's probably obese. Indeed, a person who's five-ten and weighs 205 pounds is now said to be obese.

That's lunacy, of course. As any reasonable person knows, we're not truly obese until we have to call in the carpenters to widen the doors. Similarly, drinking five Miller Lites at a party is now officially known as binge drinking. But sensible people know that an authentic binge is when you disappear into a cheap motel with a case of Scotch, which eventually culminates in a wrestling match with Mephistopheles.

These cultural changes have powerful consequences. The presumptive intoxication level, for instance, is .08, which for most people is a mild buzz. Yet those who blow an oh-eight are likely to find themselves in jail, perhaps for a week, fol-

We're all on the same page here (literally).

The Humanities course brings the entire student body together to study the classic texts each morning, so that freshmen are literally on the same page as seniors. This inspires good conversation—the kind it's hard to find.

"Thomas More may be the closest thing now existing to the tiny 'colleges' which grew up at Paris and Oxford in the Middle Ages and nourished such thinkers as Thomas Aquinas and Ignatius Loyola."

*- Choosing the Right College, 2006*

THE Thomas More College of Liberal Arts

MERRIMACK, NEW HAMPSHIRE • ROME, ITALY
WWW.THOMASMORECOLLEGE.EDU
(800) 880-8308




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lowed by immensely expensive fines, a severe jacking of insurance premiums, a suspended license, and a series of visits to official browbeating sessions. We might as well be living in Tehran.

One fears similar advances in the war against fat. Perhaps a new expression may soon be added to the public vocabulary: "fry bingeing," defined as the act of eating more than five French fries in one sitting. In this spirit our cholesterol count could be accorded the same tough analysis as our breathalyzer readings, with fines levied for those whose numbers stray beyond acceptable limits. As the guy in jail for drinking a six-pack of Miller can tell you, anything is possible when some people decide we need to change the culture.

The campaign against ripeness is a bit different from other recent reform and enlightenment movements, to be sure. The people leading such charges often worry how those in other nations view our behavior, though no such worries are present this time out, at least regarding those who live in countries where thin rations contribute to short life spans. There's Afghanistan, for instance, where one can expect to live 45.9 years, which is a lot better than Angola (38.3), Botswana (39.3), Malawi (37.6), or Mozambique (37.5). Ours is around 77 years, despite having sold our souls to Ronald McDonald.

Parents in those sad nations would strap their children to the back of a shark if they thought there was a one in ten chance he'd drop them off at an American beach with a Wendy's nearby. They would likely be stunned to learn that if activists had their druthers, Mr. McDonald and his corporate cronies would themselves be fed to the sharks. Not long ago, for example, activists notified the Kellogg Company and Viacom that they would be sued over how they market breakfast food. The activists are especially steamed because SpongeBob SquarePants, last seen supposedly exiting a gay bathhouse, is pitching stuff like Pop-Tarts on kiddie shows.

The Center for Science in the Public Interest and the Campaign for a Commercial-Free Childhood want fines of $25 each time a child under eight sees the targeted ads on Nickelodeon. The *Wall Street Journal* reports the activists also want $25 "for each time a child sees an ad for a nutritionally poor Kellogg product during children's programming on any media, or simply sees a Kellogg package with a Nickelodeon character on the box."

To the extent that the desire to save money is behind this war on fat, it should be recognized that there are two sides to that coin. Americans have taken quite seriously the commonplace advice to "hang in there": When Social Security was born in 1935, life expectancy was only 62 years. This now raises well-known financing problems, as the Social Security Administration makes clear in this item from its website:

> Q: I'm 35 years old. If nothing is done to improve Social Security, what can I expect to receive in retirement benefits from the program?
> A: Unless changes are made, at age 71 in 2041 your scheduled benefits could be reduced by 26 percent and could continue to be reduced every year thereafter from presently scheduled levels.

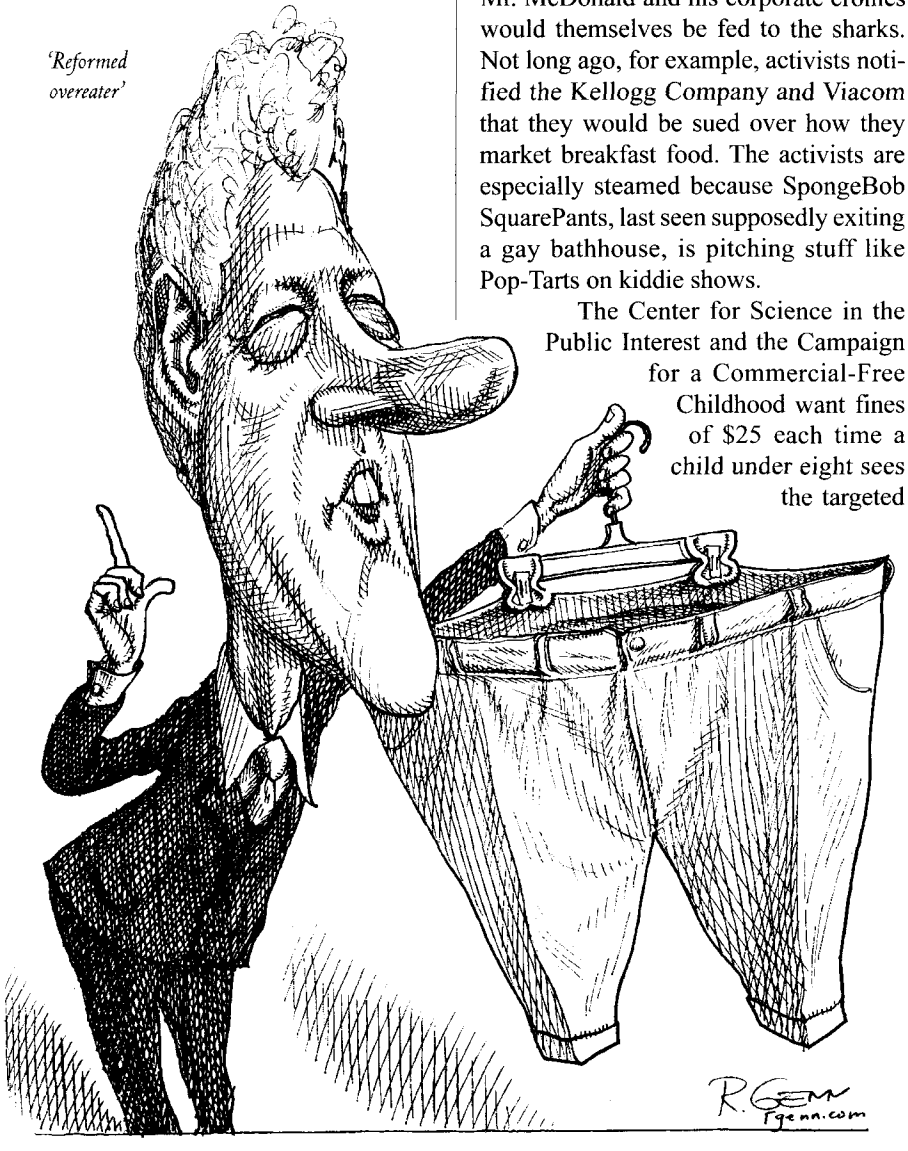
It's fine to encourage exercise and dieting. It might make just as much sense to subsidize those who wish to smoke, gorge, or play whatever other version of Russian roulette they prefer.

Others among us see a gnawing fear of death behind many of these worries. This, too, is a "death tax"—a severe levy the fear of the grave places on individuals so afraid of dying they fear to live fully. To change *that* culture, we might require students to rise from their homeroom slumbers each morning and repeat five times: "I am mortal." By embracing their mortality they are likely to enjoy life to a much greater degree.

Though expecting no applause from the governors, we might further suggest that there's only one reasonable way to deal with the Grim Reaper. Do not attempt to flee him, for that is futile. Better to charge him head-on, the belly full of Burgundy and beef, heavily salted. If that means adding another slat to the coffin, so be it.

Santa isn't fat by accident. Ultra-thin Paris Hilton, by contrast, famously dines without nourishment. She'd be a lot better off changing her menu to brats and beer—though Bill would now disagree. **NR**

*'Reformed overeater'*

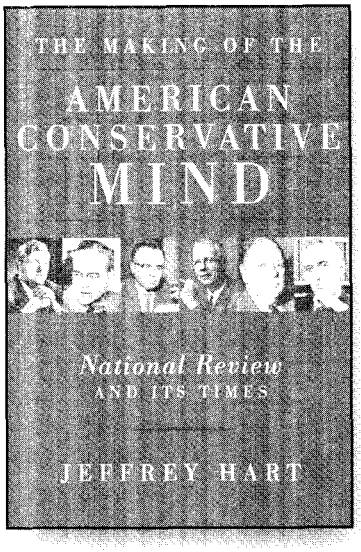



ROMAN GENN



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Landmark Works for Conservatives.



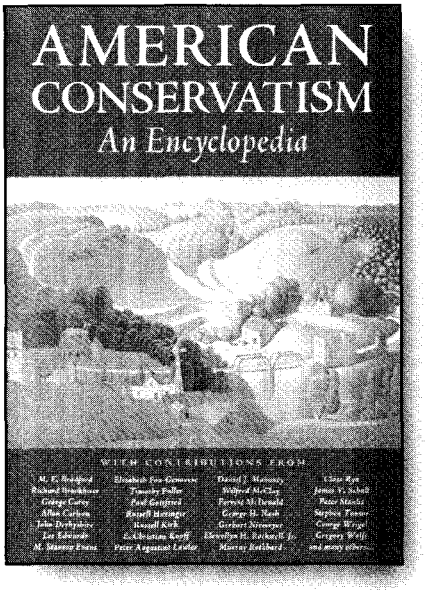

## THE MAKING OF THE AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE MIND

### National Review *and Its Times*

*by* JEFFREY HART

**$28** (hc) • ISBN: 1-93223-681-3 • 408 pp. • Illustrated

In *The Making of the American Conservative Mind*, Jeffrey Hart provides an authoritative and high-spirited history of how *National Review* has come to define and defend conservatism for the past fifty years. He also gives a firsthand account of the thought and sometimes colorful personalities—including James Burnham, Willmoore Kendall, Russell Kirk, Frank Meyer, William Rusher, Priscilla Buckley, Gerhart Niemeyer, and, of course, William F. Buckley Jr.—who contributed to *National Review*'s life and wide influence. "Part chronicle, part memoir, it might best be described as a rich, discursive meditation on *National Review*'s encounter with the world."—**George H. Nash** in *National Review*




## AMERICAN CONSERVATISM

### *An Encyclopedia*

*Edited by* BRUCE FROHNEN, JEREMY BEER, *and* JEFFREY O. NELSON

**$55** (hc) • ISBN: 1932236430 • 1,006 pp. • Illustrated

**$35** (pb) • ISBN: 1932236449 • 1,006 pp. • Illustrated

*American Conservatism* is the first comprehensive reference volume to cover what is surely the most influential political and intellectual movement of the last half century. More than a decade in the making, this informative and entertaining encyclopedia contains more than 600 substantive entries on those persons, events, organizations, and ideas of major importance to postwar American conservatism. Contributors include such conservative standard-bearers as Russell Kirk, M.E. Bradford, Gerhart Niemeyer, John Derbyshire, George H. Nash, Allan Carlson, and Richard Brookhiser. "This volume is an enormously ambitious undertaking which succeeds mightily. At once both authoritative and provocative, *American Conservatism* is an indispensable reference for conservatives and those who seek to understand them."—**Jonah Goldberg**, editor at large, National Review Online

A UNIVERSITY IN PRINT

*The imprint of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute*

AVAILABLE AT BOOK STORES. *U.S. & Canadian orders: call (800) 621-2736 / fax (800) 621-8476. www.isibooks.org*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ COVER STORY

# The 'To Hell with Them' Hawks

## And what's wrong with them

RICHARD LOWRY

Events have conspired to knock the supports out from under the Wilsonian aspects of President Bush's foreign policy. This is driving a nascent reaction to Bush foreign policy on the right, a growing sentiment, although one as yet without a prominent political champion. It is the rise of the "to hell with them" hawks.

These are conservatives who are comfortable using force abroad, but have little patience for a deep entanglement with the Muslim world, which they consider unredeemable, or at least not worth the strenuous effort of trying to redeem. To put their departure from Bush in terms associated with foreign-policy analyst Walter Russell Mead, they want to detach Bush's Jacksonianism (the hardheaded, somewhat bloody-minded nationalism) from his Wilsonianism (the crusading democratic idealism). Democrats are headed in this direction too. But the tendency is problematic and, in its own way, as naïve and unrealistic as Bush at his dreamiest.

The way Bush has wed conservative opinion in the wake of 9/11 to a soaringly aspirational foreign policy has been extraordinary. It was predictable in the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 attacks that conservatives would support a vigorous military response. It was not predictable that they would rally around a president who firmly maintained that "Islam is a religion of peace," who undertook a quest for democracy in the Middle East, and who supported nation-building in Afghanistan and Iraq of the sort most of the Right had rejected in the Clinton years. These positions weren't inevitable for the Right; they were almost entirely the product of Bush's priorities.

As Bush has weakened, so has the support for these priorities. Sotto voce, conservatives have often said among themselves of Islam, after some horrific terror attack, "*This* is a religion of peace?" And a small group of vocal right-wing experts have knocked Bush for his "Islam is peace" rhetoric from the beginning. The "cartoon riots" seemed to tip more conservatives into, or close to, this camp.

The Palestinian elections have undermined Bush's contention that all people everywhere desire freedom in their hearts. If this statement is interpreted in such a way as to make it true, it becomes non-falsifiable—to wit, all people really do desire freedom although it might not be evinced in any practical way, e.g., election results. If Bush's belief is interpreted thus, it's not terribly comforting since it means the universal desire for freedom is limited by circumstances and buried under cultural and institutional obstacles. In other words, this supposed universal desire won't do us much good when people hold all sorts of other competing desires, including a hunger for order, power, religious purity, ethnic solidarity, national prestige, and revenge. All of which have been on display in Iraq.

It is Iraq, of course, that is discrediting the project of nation-building. It has reminded us of the enduring importance of culture. Iraq suffers from a lack of a democratic culture, and its longstanding ethnic and tribal divisions have worked against us. Iraq has also been a lesson in the delicacy of institutions and the extreme difficulty of creating them anew. Iraq's army, police, and governmental ministries collapsed after our invasion, and we obviously haven't been able to reconstitute them, at least not satisfactorily.

In light of these developments, the "to hell with them" hawks want to write off reforming Islam, since they consider it inherently unreformable. They are in favor of varying levels of frankness about this evaluation, wanting either to pass over it in silence or to be open about what they see as a clash of civilizations, with Islam itself the enemy. They don't see any relation between spreading democracy and fighting terrorism, so want to give democracy-promotion a much lower prominence in U.S. foreign policy. They see the Iraq War as essentially lost, and want to pull up stakes either immediately or as soon as is plausible without creating further disaster. They agree on the imperative of never launching such a project again.

"To hell with them" hawks are not isolationists. Almost all of them supported the Iraq War at its inception on national-security, weapons-of-mass-destruction grounds. They began to have doubts only as the retrospective justification for the war and the war aims themselves became increasingly Wilsonian. They will support military action again—against Iran, say, if nothing else will stop its nuclear program—but only if there is the guarantee against any repeat of the kind of intimate on-the-ground engagement with a native population that we've seen in Iraq.

The "to hell with them" hawks are not protectionists either, although some of them might be tinged with protectionist attitudes. They are capable of existing within the Republican coalition with another of Walter Russell Mead's groupings, the commercialist Hamiltonians. But there are tensions, as has been seen in the dispute over the United Arab Emirates ports deal. "To hell with them" hawks oppose it because it gives too much influence to an Arab-government-owned company at our ports. Hamiltonians



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

support it as an expression of an open global trading system.

Democrats might shift in the "to hell with them" direction too, and any Democratic feint this way is likely to prompt post-Bush Republicans (the emergence of whom we are witnessing already) to go farther and faster down this path. Republicans don't want to be left holding the bag of full-throated Wilsonianism as Democrats tap into anger with and suspicion of the Arab world. The important question is whether the "to hell with them" hawks support a responsible foreign policy. Although Bush has indulged Wilsonian excesses, the "to hell with them" tendency, and the assumptions behind it, can be just as flawed.

### WILSON, GOOD AND BAD

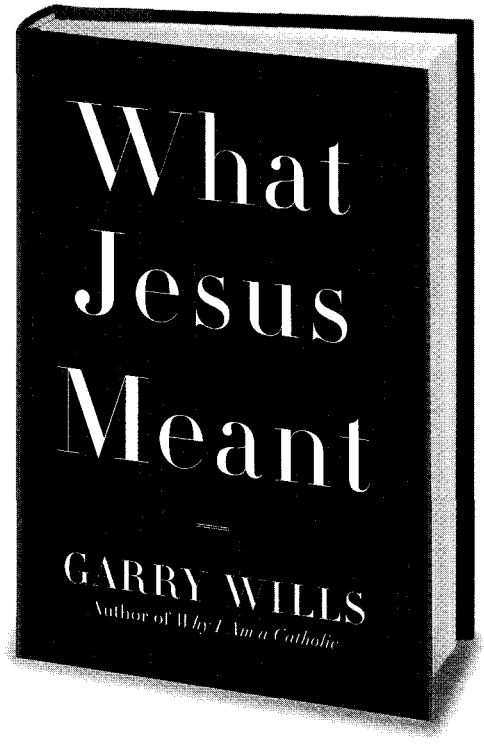
First, it is important to separate out the good from the bad in Wilsonianism, which is sometimes used as a swear word. What Michael Mandelbaum in his book *The Ideas That Conquered the World* calls the "Wilsonian triad" of peace, democracy, and free markets has triumphed as a kind of international norm. This has been a boon to the world and the security interests of the United States, and nearly every U.S. president since Wilson has promoted the "triad" in one form or another.

Then, there is the negative side of the ledger: Wilson's innocence when it came to cold considerations of power politics; his goal of establishing collective security through the League of Nations; his faith in international law. Bush partakes of none of these Wilsonian failings, but he directly channels Wilson's rhetoric. It was like a preview of Bush when Wilson averred, "I believe that God planted in us the vision of liberty. . . . I cannot be deprived of the hope that we are chosen, and prominently chosen, to show the way to the nations of the world how they shall walk in the paths of liberty." This sentiment can be a warrant for a global democratic crusade that is impractical and detached from considerations of U.S. interests.

Was the Iraq War such an overreaching exercise in Wilsonianism? Not necessarily. If we had found weapons of mass destruction, which we had every reason to believe we would, the invasion and occupation would be easier to justify on strict national-security grounds. If the occupation had gone more smoothly, obviously, things would look different too. As Charles Krauthammer


**NEW from *The New York Times* bestselling author of *WHY I AM A CATHOLIC***

JESUS WAS NOT A REPUBLICAN— OR A DEMOCRAT.




In a fresh reading of the gospels, eminent scholar Garry Wills argues that Jesus subscribed to no political program. He was far more radical than that.

"Garry Wills's meditation **cuts through cant, piety, and political exploitation** to bring Jesus alive in all his urgent significance." —James Carroll, author of *Constantine's Sword*

"Garry Wills gets to the heart of the Gospel and, through a critical reading of what Jesus says in the gospels, **surprises and provokes** all of us who claim to know what Jesus meant." —Peter Gomes, author of *The Good Book: Reading the Bible with Mind and Heart*

**Other Garry Wills books available from Viking and Penguin:**
***The Rosary*** • ***St. Augustine's Confessions*** (a translation)
***St. Augustine*** (A *New York Times* Notable Penguin Lives biography)

VIKING
**A member of Penguin Group (USA) • www.penguin.com**




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has pointed out, no one complains that our commitment to forging a better polity in Afghanistan is overly ambitious, since it hasn't been as onerous.

But it is clear now that the Iraq War—which I supported then and still do—was in important respects ill conceived. Prior to the invasion, the U.S. missed the devastated state of Iraq's civil society and infrastructure. We were not properly equipped to navigate Iraq's complicated cultural landscape. Bush didn't make the various factions of his government cohere. Above all, his administration underestimated the enormous task it had set for itself. It failed to prepare appropriately, by deliberating more carefully and avoiding the creation of unrealistic expectations. All of these are historic mistakes, and will, justly, weigh against Bush's reputation.

Of course, the story of Iraq is still being written (see our editorial "Back from the Brink" at the beginning of this issue). It is possible that a political order could still take hold—somewhat stable, pluralistic, and representative—that represents a geopolitical departure for the Middle East. But you can already hear people thinking "never again." Not just never again fight a war for democracy in the Middle East, but never again fight an insurgency.

This replicates almost exactly the reaction to Vietnam. The post-Vietnam Powell doctrine—calling for simple political objectives and the mustering of overwhelming force before launching a war—was meant to keep the U.S. from getting embroiled in another Vietnam-like insurgency. Who wouldn't prefer to avoid that? But this is where "to hell with them" hawks suffer from their own naivety. Wars rarely line up with your preferences. The first Gulf War met the specifications of the Powell doctrine. No subsequent American war has, from Somalia, to Bosnia and Kosovo, through the current conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq.

"To hell with them" hawks misinterpret the Vietnam War as badly as liberals. They are inclined to conclude that, if only the U.S. had really let loose in Vietnam, bringing to bear even more firepower, the war would have been won. On the contrary, it was only near the end of the war, when the U.S. started to fashion a true counterinsurgency strategy focusing on winning hearts and minds, on holding territory, and on training Vietnamese security forces, that we began to succeed. If there hadn't been a catastrophic loss of political support for the war at home, this strategy might have held South Vietnam, and it didn't involve—in a tactic "to hell with them" hawks tend to instinctively favor—bombing anyone back to the Stone Age.

Insurgencies can be beaten, and it can be worth it to fight against them. To say "never again" is to give our enemies a road map to deterring us by threatening guerrilla war. It would limit unnecessarily our options in the world. Not all insurgencies look like Iraq. We defeated one by proxy in El Salvador during the Cold War. We are more than holding our own against one in Afghanistan right now.

## THE LONG COUNTERINSURGENCY

Whether we say "never again" is important for another reason. A key question in the political debate post-9/11 is, What kind of conflict are we in? Is it primarily a law-enforcement action, or is it a war? "To hell with them" hawks think it is a war. But there is another important question: What kind of war?

The answer is that it is most like a counterinsurgency. This doesn't mean that the War on Terror has to be the Iraq War over and over again. It is, after all, a feature of counterinsurgencies that they aren't exclusively military in nature. They require persuading people through a range of inducements—military, but also political, economic, and ideological—to put down their arms, or not to take them up in the first place. On a global scale, that is our task in the War on Terror.

This means we need the two qualities that we either haven't had or are rapidly losing in Iraq: an intimate knowledge of the culture we are dealing with, and patience. We will need more engagement with the Muslim world rather than less, and more perspective rather than less. To allow a month or two of sporadic rioting over the Danish cartoons—much of it fomented and paid for by fanatics—to make us turn our backs on the Muslim world for the long term is childish. It highlights the way our enemies and the "to hell with them" hawks exist in a somewhat symbiotic relationship. They want us to quit the Middle East, and the "to hell with them" hawks wouldn't mind quitting; our enemies say democracy is incompatible with Islam, and the "to hell with them" hawks believe them.

**We need an intimate knowledge of the culture we are dealing with, and patience.**

Bush's foreign policy has obviously needed adjustments: more of an emphasis on diplomacy and allies; a realization that creating democracy through military intervention is deeply problematic; a greater measure of prudence. Secretary of State Rice has made many of these adjustments in a neo-realist synthesis, taking the idealism of neoconservativism and leavening it with the practicality of realism. But what deserves preserving from the original Bush approach?

First, the contention that Islam is a religion of peace. Even if this seems a polite fiction, it is an important one. Influential Muslims believe it to be true, and it is crucial that they prevail in the Muslim struggle for self-definition. Rather than scorning them, we should be doing what we can to support the likes of King Abdullah of Jordan, who has launched an anti-terror initiative, and Iraq's Ayatollah Sistani, who has been consistent in condemning terrorism. Whatever the theological niceties of Islam, religious cultures take on different colorations across time. Some people wondered whether Christianity was a religion of peace 300 years ago when rival Christian princes were warring over questions of faith.

Like Christianity, Islam has within it resources that can be used both to promote liberty and peace and to repress these things. The relative strength of these dueling resources depends in part on the political and economic conditions in which they exist. We should want to do all we reasonably can to create the conditions in which the positive elements within Islam flower.

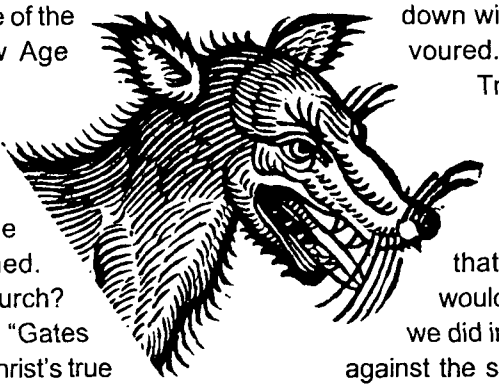
"To hell with them" hawks tend not to see any positive elements. They will sometimes dismiss someone like Sistani by cit-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Wolf Inside The Catholic Church

If Catholics want to see what the Catholic Church would look like if liberal Catholics get their way, all they need do is look at the Episcopal Church, which incarnates the wish list of liberal Catholics: approval of shacking-up, abortion, and homosexual unions; priestesses and out-of-the-closet homosexual priests; junking the doctrine of the Indissolubility of Marriage; New Age (neo-pagan) rituals; etc.



If in, say, 1970 you asked if all of this could happen in the staid Episcopal Church, almost every Episcopalian would have said, "Never!" Alas, it's happened. Could it happen in the Catholic Church? We Catholics have faith that the "Gates of Hell" will never prevail against Christ's true Church, but they could prevail in, say, the U.S. and Europe, just as they prevailed in North Africa.

Sadly, the same type of liberal Christians who run the Episcopal Church can be found in the Catholic Church in the U.S. The "middle management" of the U.S. Church is riddled with dissenters.

How should loyal Catholics relate to such people? Should we seek common ground with them? Dialogue with them? In the Episcopal Church over the past decades there were many fine Christians who took this falsely charitable approach. They said, let's talk with these earnest, if somewhat loosey-goosey Episcopalians. And, you know, pretty soon those fine, kind-hearted Christians weakened under the pressure of the *Zeitgeist*. And then they were devoured.

There's a huge lesson for Catholics to learn here: You just can't pow-wow with liberal Catholics, because they come to any negotiating table from a position of massive strength. They don't just represent themselves. They're of the same ilk that overran the Episcopal Church and numerous other Protestant denominations. And they have the full force of secular Western culture — the *Zeitgeist* — behind them. In this world, when the lambs lie down with the wolves, the lambs are devoured.

Trust us! We've seen it happen. Our magazine, the NEW OXFORD REVIEW, started out in the Episcopalian (or Anglican) tradition.

In 1981 *Newsweek* predicted that, like John Henry Newman, we would become Roman Catholic, which we did in 1983. And now we must contend against the same dark forces that prevailed in the Episcopal Church, but now in the Catholic Church. And if you're an orthodox Catholic, *so must you!*

The Holy Father can't solve our problems for us all by himself. We must all do our part. One way to get into the action is to read the NEW OXFORD REVIEW. Published monthly, we analyze all the challenges facing the Church — sometimes in depth, sometimes with dismissive satire, but always with clarity and forcefulness. We don't dialogue with dissenters — we annihilate them (intellectually only, of course).

We've got "attitude," says Karl Keating; "heartily recommended," says *The Wanderer*; "first-rate," says *National Review*. We've got a wolfhound of a magazine here ready to help you defeat the predators who seek to undermine your faith in Christ and His Church. Subscribe!

(Please allow 2 to 8 weeks for delivery of first issue.)

## SPECIAL DISCOUNT RATES FOR FIRST-TIME SUBSCRIBERS

- ☐ One-year subscription ..... $14 (regularly $19)
- ☐ One-year student, unemployed, or retired person's subscription ..... $12 (regularly $16)
- ☐ Two-year subscription ..... $23 (regularly $35)
- ☐ One-year non-U.S. subscription ..... US$24 (regularly $29) Payment must be drawn in U.S. Dollars.
- ☐ Sample copy ..... $3.50

➔ Our prices are *so low* because you can't pay by credit card and payment must accompany order. Send letter or this coupon with check payable to NEW OXFORD REVIEW. Mail to:

NEW OXFORD REVIEW
Room 940
1069 Kains Ave.
Berkeley CA 94706

Name (Please print or type)

Street Address or P.O. Box

City State Zip

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing all his beliefs that seem bizarre to a Westerner. But is this surprising? *He is a conservative Shiite cleric*, not an Episcopal minister. Not to realize that someone utterly different from us can still be an ally is a flat-out failure of imagination.

## THE BATTLE FOR LEGITIMACY

The other major aspect of Bush's policy worth keeping is the push for democratization. Bush has done himself no favor by so baldly oversimplifying and over-promising in his democratization campaign. But the general orientation is correct.

There is no more powerful political force than legitimacy. With it, a great empire can sprawl around the world; without it, it collapses the next day. Philip Bobbitt argues in his brilliant book *The Shield of Achilles* that what he calls "epochal wars" always revolve around legitimacy, around the questions of what the state is and how it is to be governed. He calls the period from the First World War to the end of the Cold War the "Long War," a running conflict over whether the legitimate government of the nation-state was fascism, communism, or parliamentary democracy.

In the Middle East today, there is a similar struggle over legitimacy. How should Arab and surrounding states be governed—secular fascism, religious dictatorship, or a semi-democratic parliamentarianism? This struggle is mixed up with complicated ethnic and sectarian divisions, making it particularly nettlesome, but to pretend we have no stake in it is folly. How Muslim states and populations are governed makes a difference in the expression of Islam. Witness the relative moderation of Islamic populations in Turkey, Indonesia, and India.

"To hell with them" hawks suffer from an awful case of presentism. Because for the last 30 years there has been a rising tide of Islamic radicalism, they conclude it is inevitable. But radical Islam is an ideology, and ideologies don't rise out of nothing. They exist in relation to political and state power, and to economic success, and their prestige rises or falls with these factors. In the 1960s, "to hell with them" hawks might have said, "All Arabs must be nationalists." Arab nationalism delivered political and economic stagnation, and duly declined, with Islamism taking its place.

The key moment in the advance of radical Islam was Khomeini's rise to power in Iran in 1979. The mullahs became the biggest boosters of suicide bombing. The burst of Iranian ideological energy scared the Saudis. Worried about losing leadership of the Islamic world, they began an international campaign of evangelism on behalf of Wahhabism. These two developments changed the iteration of global Islam. It wasn't inevitable that this change take place, and it needn't inevitably endure. Further, the geopolitical context of the Middle East mattered in making this change happen, and it will matter to reversing it.

The contemporary Middle East has featured a competition of radicalisms—who can be religiously purer, and more hostile to the West? The project in Iraq is an attempt to shift the terms of the competition to who can better deliver peace, prosperity, and representation. If this shift occurs, it will be a grave blow to the legitimacy of radical Islam. The radicals realize this, which is why they hope to defeat us in Iraq and in so doing trash the legitimacy of semi-democratic parliamentarianism.

"To hell with them" hawks would say, "Fine, but since Iraq isn't capable of any sort of democracy, you are on a fool's errand." But the outcome of the conflict in Iraq is still in doubt. Confident predictions about which cultures are or are not capable of democracy have the aspect of unassailable truth—right up to the point that they don't. Representative Arab government will be impossible until it happens.

Skeptics about the relation between political systems and terrorism in the Middle East point to the existence of homegrown terrorists in Britain to show violent extremism can exist in liberal democracies. Of course it can. But such extremism in many cases reflects the tentacles of Saudi money and propaganda. During the Cold War, there were also homegrown Communists in Western societies, but when the center of Communism, the Soviet Union, collapsed, these Communists disappeared. Similarly, if the Middle East, the heart of the Muslim world, didn't have so many players sanctioning extremism and violence, there would be fewer homegrown fanatics.

"To hell with them" hawks implicitly promise that if we deny extremists sophisticated technology, and secure ourselves at home, we can be safe. But it is the fire in the minds of men that matters most. As long as there are countless young men who want to do us harm, and are willing to die in the process, it is going to be hard to deny them the materials or the access to the U.S. necessary to do it. The key is to try to see that the fire itself begins to die out. There is no chance of that happening without changes in the Middle East that will require calling on all aspects of our power—economic, diplomatic, ideological, as well as military—in a drawn-out, unconventional kind of political warfare.

## HOW TO CLASH CIVILIZATIONS

For believers in a clash in civilizations, the "to hell with them" hawks have an odd attitude toward their own. They want to put our civilization in a permanent posture of strategic defense. In Cold War terms, they believe in Containment rather than Rollback. Containment was a successful strategy, but especially so when Ronald Reagan invested it with aspects of Rollback, launching insurgencies against Communist states and engaging in unapologetic evangelism for the Western cause.

Like the "to hell with them" hawks, the Crusaders of old believed in a clash of civilizations. But they wanted to spread the one, true faith; the "to hell with them" hawks want to enhance port security. Perhaps it is President Bush who is most serious about engaging in a war of civilizations, seeking to translate key aspects of our civilization to theirs (while at the same time shrewdly denying that there is any clash of civilizations, to help make the medicine go down). What Islamists are attempting to do in Europe, Bush is attempting in the Middle East.

Again, to borrow from Bobbitt's analysis, this is natural in any "epochal war." The powers opposing Napoleon weren't satisfied with whatever regime might replace his once he was defeated, but saw to it that a monarchy was restored to France; the Allies didn't turn Germany back over to the Kaiser after World War I, but insisted on a (precarious) republic; and, of course, the U.S. transformed Germany and Japan after World War II. Epochal wars, like the War on Terror, have an inevitable ideological content.

Alas, there are no shortcuts, or guarantees of victory. At the moment, the wind is blowing the "to hell with them" hawks' way. If we try their approach, it won't be long until we are complaining yet again about the lack of realism in U.S. foreign policy, and yearning for something less simplistic and naïve. **NR**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ THE U.N.

# Bolton at Bat

**In February, the American ambassador was president of the Security Council**

JAY NORDLINGER

JOHN BOLTON brought the gavel down at 10 A.M., right on time—but he was the only one in the room. That's how the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations started his month as president of the Security Council. The presidency of the Council rotates monthly, going through all 15 members, in alphabetical order (according to English). February was the turn of the United States, and thus of Ambassador Bolton.

He maintained to one and all that starting on time was "a form of discipline," and also "a matter of courtesy." The United Nations is famously sluggish and unwieldy, and Bolton wanted to shape it up a little. On that first day, the Council got going about 10:15. But the members were more punctual thereafter, as Bolton says, in a post-presidency interview: "We were hitting somewhere between 10 and 10:05 every day." And "people appreciated it," this change in the U.N. style.

John R. Bolton is one of the most amazing weapons in President Bush's foreign-policy arsenal. Senate Democrats blocked his confirmation, so Bush gave him a recess appointment, last August. That term will expire when the current Congress expires (probably at the end of this year). Whether Bolton stays on or not, he is certainly making the most of his time at Turtle Bay.

He had a good month, as president, but "not as good as it could have been," he says. The presidency of the Security Council is not the most spectacular position on earth, but it has its uses, "particularly on the procedural side of things," as Bolton notes.

So the ambassador—in an indication that a new sheriff was in town—started on time. He also arranged for daily briefings from the U.N. Secretariat. If the Security Council was to make decisions, it needed to be up to date on U.N. happenings, around the globe. And Bolton encouraged members to dispense with prepared statements, and simply talk: diplomat to diplomat, nation to nation. Some people grumbled about this, and others smiled on it. Denmark's ambassador—a woman named Ellen Margrethe Loj—told reporters that the U.N. should not continue as it has for 60 years, with no change whatsoever. "Sometimes we have to be a bit more modern."

Will Bolton's reforms stick, or at least have some lingering effect? During February, the Chinese ambassador was heard to remark that they would simply "fade away." But Bolton expects the Secretariat briefings to continue, even if in "scaled back" form—"something like twice a week." People found the daily briefings "too much work, heaven forbid." And Council members may actually have gotten used to starting on time, or at least less tardily.

## WONDROUS SIGHTS

When Bolton was at bat, you saw any number of things you don't see every day at the U.N. He held a meeting on sexual exploitation by U.N. peacekeepers around the world. And he held a meeting on waste, fraud, and abuse in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Auditors had examined $1 billion in contracts, finding that $300 million of that sum was lost. Bolton noted that the U.S. contributes 27 percent of peacekeeping funds—meaning that all of those monies go to waste. Of this remarkable fact, Bolton said, "The U.S. taxpayer considers it important."

Other, perhaps smaller, matters arose in February. For instance, the Security Council put out a very strong statement on Iraq, praising and encouraging democracy there and condemning those who would kill it off. Would that have happened absent the Bolton presidency? Bolton observes that "something would have happened," but "we put a strong emphasis" on the matter.

And would Sudan—the genocide in Darfur—have been spotlighted and debated? "It would have come up, but with less saliency, is the best way to put it." And, Bolton continues, "this is a good example of what the presidency can do": allow a nation to "push," although a successful outcome is far from guaranteed.

For a year and a half, Darfur has been policed—more like watched—by a pathetic, paltry force from the African Union. The United States is a leader in wanting to replace that band with a U.N. force, larger and more capable. In the end—by the end of February—Bolton could not get the Security Council to move on Sudan: either on sanctions against individuals committing atrocities or on a statement supporting a U.N. force. But he tried.

In a press conference, Bolton said the Council had raised alarms over Darfur, but "if the Council doesn't mean what it says and isn't willing to take steps to persuade people to follow what it says, its credibility will decline." At another press conference, a reporter mentioned the opposition of Sudan's president to U.N. troops. In his response, Bolton said that the U.S. was looking for a way "to stop the genocide. That's our objective. And one can only hope that the government of Sudan shares the objective that its own citizens should live."

A Bolton press conference is typically a very entertaining—in addition to a very informative—event, by the way. Bolton is as blunt as the president he works for. He is happy to remind people that Iran is a champion sponsor of terrorism. He is now and then a touch sarcastic: Reporter: "Are you still for [a particular proposal]? There had been some talk that you'd pulled back from that." Bolton: "Well, I don't know who's doing the talking." And did I mention blunt? A reporter asked whether the U.N. Human Rights Commission should meet before talks on reforming it had been concluded. "Well," said Bolton, "I've said in private consultations that it might be worthwhile having the commission meet again to remind everybody how bad it is so that we can get on the track of real reform."

## BUTTERFLIES AND CATERPILLARS

Ah, yes, the Human Rights Commission. As you may know, this august body includes some of the most brutal, oppressive, and murderous regimes on the planet: Sudan, Cuba, China, Zimbabwe, Saudi Arabia. Kofi Annan was putting it mildly when he said in January that the Human Rights Commission "casts a



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shadow over the entire U.N." Almost everybody describes the commission as "discredited"—even the *New York Times*, which has used the word without quotation marks in at least one news story.

So Secretary General Annan wanted reform—a new type of commission—and so did the United States. In a speech at the beginning of the year, Bolton said, "If member countries want the United Nations to be respected, they should begin by making sure it is worthy of respect." The Americans put forward a proposal, and it is multifaceted. The main elements, however, are these: Instead of the current 53 members, make it 30; and have countries be elected by two-thirds of the General Assembly. Both of these changes would make it harder for the worst regimes to land on the rights panel. And, at the least, bar those governments under Security Council sanctions for violating human rights from serving on the Human Rights Commission.

On February 23, the U.N. brass, in the person of Jan Eliasson, president of the General Assembly, responded with a proposal that said: 47 members, rather than 53; voted in by an absolute majority; and even those under sanctions are eligible. Bolton said no way—the United States would not accept that proposal, in fact would vote against it, if it came to that. He told the press that it wasn't enough that the Eliasson proposal, on the whole, wasn't as bad as it could have been. He also said, "We want a butterfly. We're not going to put lipstick on a caterpillar and declare it a success."

*The 'highlight'? The ambassador and Miss Universe*

(I later ask whether that is an expression from his growing up, or from somewhere else in American culture. Bolton says no, he made it up, and will have to accept paternity, for better or worse.)

Bolton made clear that he—i.e., the United States—was willing to negotiate with other member states, but not with Mr. Eliasson, acting as a "facilitator." International agreements ought to be between nations, he argued. You sit down across a table, with red pencils, and jaw it out. Annan supports the Eliasson proposal, and so do many nations—most nations. The United States, incidentally, has no veto in the matter: It would be one of the 191 members of the General Assembly, voting on the proposal. Many conservatives believe that, if the proposal goes through, the United States should refuse to participate—should leave the human-rights panel as it did UNESCO, under Reagan, back in '84.

For their stance, Bolton and the administration received support from an unexpected quarter: the *New York Times*. That Bush-despising, Bolton-despising newspaper editorialized, "When it comes to reforming the disgraceful United Nations Human Rights Commission, America's ambassador, John Bolton, is right; Secretary General Kofi Annan is wrong; and leading international human rights groups have unwisely put their preference for multilateral consensus ahead of their duty to fight for the strongest possible human rights protection. A once-promising reform proposal has been so watered down that it has become an ugly sham, offering cover to an unacceptable status quo. It should be renegotiated or rejected."

Bolton later sought to reassure NATIONAL REVIEW that, despite the *Times*'s approval, he and his people had not "gone soft in the head."

But the *Times*, as it concluded the editorial, took care to offend: "Mr. Bolton, representing an administration whose record is stained by Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib, is awkwardly placed to defend basic human rights principles."

Stubbornly soft in the head were usual suspects such as Archbishop Tutu, Jimmy Carter, and the leaders of the EU, all of whom urged acceptance of the Eliasson proposal. Carter practically pleaded with U.N. members to defy the United States. This recalled his actions in 1990, when the first President Bush was trying to rally the Security Council for what would be the Gulf War, Desert Storm. Carter wrote members of the Council, urging them to thwart the United States. The government in Washington found out about it when the Canadian prime minister, Brian Mulroney, called the secretary of defense, Dick Cheney, and said (essentially), "What gives?"

As of this writing, it is unclear what will become of the U.N. Human Rights Commission.

## NO TEARS

During his month as president, Bolton let his hair down a little, with his fellow Council members: He took them to a professional basketball game, at Madison Square Garden, where the Miami Heat beat the New York Knicks, badly. Bolton pointed out that basketball, while an American game, has become very much an international game. And did you hear about Miss Universe? This young lady—Natalie Glebova, a Russian-born Canadian—happened to be touring the U.N., and Bolton showed her around the Security Council chamber. "That could have been the highlight of the month," he says.

By the accounts of even some critics, Bolton has had a very strong tenure as ambassador. He has been firm, and yet not outlandish, refuting the worst fears of the critics (to the extent those critics were honest). Sen. George Voinovich of Ohio was a rare Republican critic. You may recall that he nearly cried, when speaking against Bolton on the floor. But on a visit to Turtle Bay last month, he sounded different. He said, "I think [Bolton] is really working very constructively to move forward. . . . At this stage of the game I'm pleased with the progress that is being made here and the team that he has gathered together."

Bolton appeared to relish his time as Security Council president, and his admirers relished it even more. Bolton seemed to feel a sense of urgency about his month, hearing the clock tick. On February 27, talking to the press about Sudan, he said, "With 36 hours left in the presidency, we're still prepared to move ahead." On February 28, he said, "We've pushed hard, and we're going to continue to push hard, even though tomorrow is March 1." Given his status as a short-timer—a recess appointee—Bolton may never get another crack at the Security Council presidency, as the 15 nations take their turns. Whatever the case, he made the most out of February 2006. **NR**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# the long view

ROB LONG

## International Longshore and Warehouse Union Grievance Committee

ILWU Local 1339 vs.
Dubai Ports World

DEPOSITION TRANSCRIPT

Section 1

**Q:** Can you tell us which events led to the work stoppage?
**A:** Yeah, totally. Okay, so there was me and Rudy, okay, and we were on our second 15—
**Q:** Those are your breaks, right?
**A:** Right, right. We get twelve 15-minute breaks per shift, unless we're on overtime or premium overtime, in which case we get less breaks but they got to add some personal days to the bank. Unless we're only doing modified overtime, and then it's like regular flextime when it's up to the shop steward how we do breaks and stuff. Unless it's a weekend. If it's a weekend, then the union rep has to meet with the steward and decide how to handle the downside hours and whether to use Rule 19 for part of the shift, which is great for me 'cause I got kids and our last contract says I can apply those hours but Rudy's got elderly parents so Rule 19's pretty much the last thing he needs during flextime weekends. Unless he goes permanent flextime, which I think he's thinking about—
**Q:** If I could just break in here. In the interest of speed. So you're on break?
**A:** Yeah, yeah. Just having a smoke and an Entenmann's and leaning against one of the containers that we just lifted off a ship, right? Just sort of leaning against the container, smokin' and jokin', when this guy, the dock manager, Ahmet or Mehmet or something, comes up and he's all p.o.'ed about something and telling us to move away from that specific container, right? Like it's a special container or something? And remember, these containers, they're just off the boat, no seals on 'em, no inspections, nothing. Just right off the boat from . . . um . . . I'm gonna say Sudan? Somewhere? Sudan? Yeah, I think. Anyway. So we're leaning up against it with our Kools and our raspberry swirl and Mehmet is going on and on and on about how we got to move and how he's got to open that container himself and suddenly Rudy gets upset, 'cause, I mean, that's his job, right? He's the associate lead stevedore—I mean, we got all these clear jobs in our last contract go around, you know?—and suddenly Rudy's all angry and saying, "You think you're gonna open this, bud? Got a news flash for you. You touch this container and Local 1339 is gonna shut this place down!" And Ahmet or Mehmet just starts yelling and yelling about how he's the boss and this is a special container and we're not supposed to touch it or open it or eat our Entenmann's near it, and so Rudy just snaps, you know? He calls the shop steward and the local rep and so we shut the place down for the day.

**Q:** And when did the FBI come and discover the nuclear device in the container?
**A:** Like the next day, I think. Or maybe it was a few days? But the point is, in our last contract we got strict rules about who opens what and when, and those guys need to learn that Local 1339 is not going to roll, okay?
**Q:** Were you aware that there was a nuclear device in the container?
**A:** What? No. Hey, you're not listening. Listen, what are you guys going to do about enforcing the work-designation rules? This stuff is important. Can I smoke in here?

Section 2

**Q:** Could you tell us about the events that led up to the discovery of the sarin gas canisters?
**A:** The what?
**Q:** The sarin gas. When the port was shut down.
**A:** Oh, you mean my injury?
**Q:** Yes.
**A:** Oh, right. See, I was counting up the containers we just unloaded. I had to do it by hand on account of the software that we use requires the use of the computer, right, and I got this repetitive-stress injury condition that my doctor says prevents me from using the computer keyboard. I've got a note from the doctor somewhere. Should I look for it?
**Q:** No, no. Just go on.
**A:** Anyway, so I put in for disability last month for the repetitive thing with my wrist but I didn't hear back, so I'm counting up the containers and marking them down and all of a sudden my wrist is killing me, you know, 'cause I guess writing is the same as typing, wrist-wise. So I call the shop steward and my union rep and we're all looking at my wrist, which isn't swollen but it's throbbing, right? And then Tariq comes up and he's all p.o.'ed about something and jumpy like always and he wants to know where container 1773 is, and I say, "I don't know, Tariq, I haven't finished logging them all, I've got this injury here" and I show him my wrist and he's totally not interested and keeps asking me about number 1773 and I tell him that after the nurse looks at my wrist I'll finish the log and that's when he goes nuts and rips the clipboard from my hand, which kills my wrist more and also pulls something in my shoulder, so that I haven't been able to really have the range of motion I need to do my job, which is why I put in for total disability. But I haven't heard back from you guys.
**Q:** When did the FBI find the sarin gas canisters?
**A:** I don't know. We shut the whole port down that day on account of my injury, so that the whole shift could do a general safety review. That takes a couple of days. So I'm gonna say, three days later? Anyway, can you guys expedite the disability thing? I'm in a lot of pain.
**Q:** Were you there when the canisters were discovered?
**A:** Me? No. I was at the driving range.



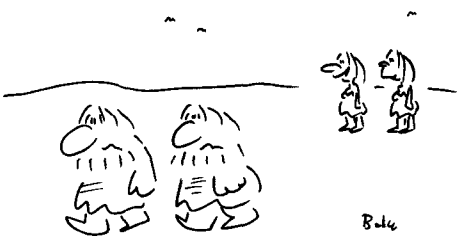
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# HELP!!!!

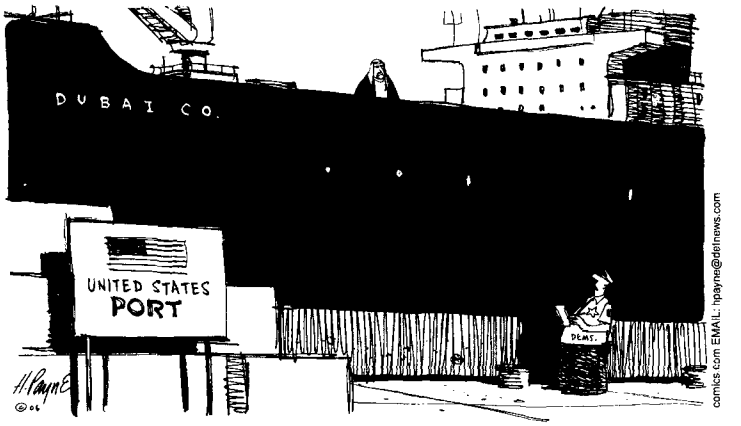
## A Wedge Issue?

*As Hillary spits at Dubai*
*And Levin recoils like a duck*
*Absorbing a volley from Dick,*
*Are Democrats running amok?*
*With no Yankee Doodle in sight*
*And Howard a drag on TV,*
*The party's reprising the day*
*The Hatter and Alice had tea.*

—W. H. von Dreele



*"It's so much easier to manipulate them now that we've invented language."*



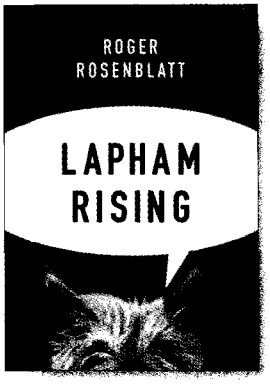

"WHY DID I PULL YOU OVER? DRIVING WHILE ARAB."

"QUICK! WE NEED ANOTHER 500 COPIES OF THE GITMO REPORT TO SHIP TO MEMBER OFFICES IN CHINA, EGYPT, SAUDI ARABIA, PAKISTAN, AND SUDAN."



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Heavenly Read




*Lapham Rising: A Novel*,
by Roger Rosenblatt
(Ecco, 256 pp., $23.95)

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

THIS is a zany tale. It is a comic novel perfectly conjugated, moving the reader with delight through a three-act plot featuring a hero who is slightly mad, not quite prevailing over the antagonist, who is slightly mad; all of this with appropriate commentary from Hector, a talking dog who is pious and insolent. Try it.

The rules: You must be funny, impious, lyrical, aseptic, and—theatrical. Roger Rosenblatt has done all this, and this reader acknowledges that after twenty pages he was alight with the delirium of it all.

The protagonist is a novelist in his sixties. He has not written for eight years. The large library in his house on a small island in Quogue (Long Island) was just fine. So?—he gave away all his books except one. His divorced wife and grown children are out of the way in California and he has been quietly content in his haven.

But across the creek, a-building, is a near-grown monstrosity that will ruin the view, shatter his solipsistic serenity, and confirm once and for all his conviction that American life has become a Philistine overbrush, destroying nature and beauty and—now—forever dooming his own life on the tiny island where he has sought to guard against the odious headway of modern life. What can he, Harry March, do, against Silas Lapham's excrescence?

Lapham—the man who is building that terrible structure—has huge inherited wealth. He dabbles in culture. He has a website called "Lapham's Aphms." "He either seems to have misunderstood or misspelled *aphorisms*. The English language, though his own, presents him with challenges. One of Lapham's aphms is 'He who does not promote himself will never be promoted.'"

What's to be done about Lapham? Well, to meet this challenge Harry March was born: He must destroy the four-story, 36,000-square-foot structure in order to prevent its completion. To this end the whole of his energies are harnessed.

The deed will be done by an intricate and mortal catapult. It is painstakingly devised, arriving by FedEx in a hundred pieces. Day after day he labors at assembling it. He calls it Da Vinci.

There is a distraction. He has promised to give a speech in Chautauqua. He hates the thought of it, hates to travel, hates to intersect with strangers—or indeed with intimates, which he is mostly without, excepting the genial workforce engaged in constructing Lapham's terrible house across the creek. (They are innocent of his design.) March forces himself to focus on his wayward obligation.

"*'Have you laid out your Lapham theory yet?'* Hector [his dog] asks from a hole he has just dug for typically purposeless amusement. He trains his little black eyes on me as I write. *'About how Lapham represents all that's wrong with modern civilization? That's my favorite part.'* 'Keep digging, Mr. Tail.' I sometimes call him that, to remind him of his place in the animal hierarchy. 'You haven't hit six feet yet.' *'You're such a cliché,'* he says. *'A recluse on an island, railing against his times.'*

"*'I'm* a cliché? And what do you call a talking dog?'"

But March reminds himself he has to get down to planning the trip. Another terrible thing about speaking in Chautauqua is that you need to get there. "'I don't suppose you have a seat on a flight to Buffalo late tonight,' I say to the lady from USAir who finally picks up after two minutes of automated responses. 'Why do you put it that way?' 'Because I really do not want to go to Buffalo. Tonight or any night.' 'So why do it?' 'I've agreed to make the trip. A deal's a deal.' 'Where are you now?' 'In Quogue.' 'The Hamptons. I've never been. All those parties.' She is correct. In the hundred-day season covering the usual stretch from the end of May through the first week of September, [they] counted roughly 26,000 scheduled social events for an average of 260 in any twenty-four-hour period. These included official celebrations (Memorial Day, the Fourth of July, Labor Day), and other miscellaneous gatherings [including] the poorly attended picnic held on July 9 to commemorate the halfway point between the Fourth and Bastille Day, at which guests gather to read the Declaration of Independence aloud in French."

*Bangbangbangangang.*

"'What's that noise?' The USAir lady sounds alarmed. I tend to forget that what has become the soundtrack of my life may be shocking to others.

"'That noise is the reason I'm escaping.'

"'To Buffalo?' She is appropriately incredulous."

He gives up trying to explain the impending desecration of the beauty of the area. "If it were possible to subtract people like the Laphams from the Hamptons, this would be quite a pleasant place. Those ducks, for example, that whet out in arrowhead formations over the Atlantic, and the glib gulls, and the oaten dunes flecked with tufts of sea grass grading into gold, and the ocean herself that gushes in response to approaching rain and the beach that contorts to the shapes of angels on tombstones, awls, hunchbacks, lovers lying thigh to thigh, and the flotsam from a mackerel schooner that still bears the stench of the catch."

"*'You make too much of Mr. Lapham,'* says Hector. *'All he is doing is building a big house. Let him alone, and we'll be at peace again. Blessed are the peacemakers.'*

"'I'd love to choke him.'

**Mr. Buckley is editor-at-large of National Review. His next novel, *Castledown*, will be published later in the year.**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"'You *spend too much time alone. All those crazy thoughts of yours come from living by yourself.*'

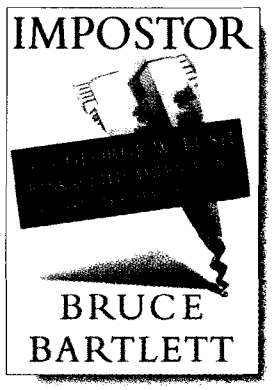
"'I simply prefer solitude.' Then, looking straight at him, 'Though perhaps my life is not solitary enough.'

"'*You can't hurt me. I have God on my side. And I'm not like you. I want to make something of myself.*' Then he licked his nose. 'I can teach you all you need to know right here.' '*I don't believe in homeschooling,*' he said. '*Except for Bible classes.*' 'Well, you're not going to the Harvard Business School. You probably couldn't get in, and in any case, it's too expensive.' '*Very nice. Treat me like a dog, why don't you?*'

"'You *are* a dog.' '*Well then!*' And with that, he proceeded to bark all night, as he is barking now."

*We are headed for cataclysm, and it is a cataclysm to beat all cataclysms, Harry March's Da Vinci pitched against Silas Lapham's Blowhard Division of the Tilles Corporation. "The island still burns like a long, thin log, every inch of it in flame and embers. I tear off my clothes and toss them in a heap. I perch. I crouch. I spring into a stupendous belly flop, and then I swim into the night, away from Lapham. Suddenly, behind me, I hear another splash. Hector has leapt from the boat. He catches up and paddles beside me. His head glows silver in moonlight. We do not say a word."* **NR**

# Jilted




*Impostor: How George W. Bush Bankrupted America and Betrayed the Reagan Legacy*, by Bruce Bartlett (Doubleday, 320 pp., $26)

KEVIN A. HASSETT

As we enter the sixth year of the George W. Bush presidency, there has been refreshingly little discussion of his legacy. David Bruce, Harry Truman's under secretary of state, had perhaps the wisest approach: "I wouldn't try in my own mind . . . to fix the place in history of any president until he had been dead for at least fifty years." Such advice is especially prudent in Bush's case; so much depends on things to come.

But as Bush's presidency winds down, it is inevitable that this discussion will begin. Perhaps the first volley in the battle over the Bush legacy has been launched in the form of *Impostor*, the new book by former Reagan Treasury official Bruce Bartlett. Bartlett is an unusual author for a book with such a title. He is well known and respected in the Washington conservative policy community. He is erudite and collegial, and well liked for his quiet sense of humor and pleasant manner. His syndicated column appears on National Review Online.

Yet the title and the tone of this anti-Bush jeremiad suggest that Bartlett has lost his temper. He writes about Bush like a jilted lover. In Bush's approach to policy, for example, Bartlett observes "an apparent disdain for serious thought." Cynics will accuse Bartlett of trying to cash in on the anti-Bush rage that has generated massive book sales for other authors; but I know Bartlett, and I'm sure that the strong feelings revealed in his biting language are quite genuine.

How angry is he? Bartlett is so angry that he dedicates a whole chapter to a comparison between Bush and Nixon, someone, he writes, who is viewed as "one of the worst presidents in American history." Bartlett clearly thinks Bush is headed down the same path: "Bush could end up having the same negative effects on himself and the economy as Nixon brought on."

What has set him off is a long list of Bush's apparent crimes against economics and the Reagan legacy. The list is not fanciful: Government spending has surged under Bush. The prescription-drug plan is one of the biggest expansions of entitlements on record. The Sarbanes-Oxley bill did create massive and costly new regulations. Bush's trade record, from textiles to steel, is at times quite unattractive. In Bartlett's opinion, even the vaunted tax cuts squandered

**Mr. Hassett is a resident scholar and director of economic-policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute.**

## FISHING AROUND

Keeping his feet, a feeling in his gut,
Heart in his mouth, a slow bee in his bonnet,
Silently groaning under God knows what,
He wants to see if he can write a sonnet:
Nothing spectacular, just some decent verse,
Each phoneme brooded on, each syllable weighed,
The diction plain, the sentence fairly terse—
(To please *you*, lovely reader, meter-made).

And now he feels he's in his element,
Baiting a hook and casting forth the line,
And through clear water sees a heaven-sent
Swift flash of silver rise into air and shine.
Ah, let it go—go, dart back to the deep.
A lovely thing, but much too small to keep.

—ROBERT MEZEY



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

revenue on such things as the Child Tax Credit and the tax rebates—which have little economic consequence—rather than on marginal-tax-rate reductions, which would have done much more to promote growth.

The big question is: Why did Bush propose these policies while claiming to be an heir to the Reagan legacy? Bartlett's portrait of the Bush White House suggests that Bush is all about politics and power. He is a rube who lets the political shop run his economic policy; he makes bad economic policy and then attacks economic staffers if they complain. He moved the economists across town, and doesn't listen to them. Morale among economists is so low that nobody wants to work in the administration any longer.

But it is perilous to draw conclusions about internal affairs and other people's motives based on limited information. My own sense from discussing the book with current and former administration officials is that Bartlett's characterization is unfair and incorrect. One former senior official told me that Bush pores over his briefing books with such focus and acuity that he catches staffers when they say things that disagree with information from previous briefings. Another former senior economic official told me that Bush demands frank and accurate discussion of economic issues from his staff. My own experience with Bush is more in line with that of these former staffers: When discussing economics, he seems very well informed, and comfortable with complexities.

Indeed, a Bush supporter might respond that the real problem is that, in our system, the president is too weak to have a strong influence on economic policy. Bush clearly wanted to reform Social Security; Congress wouldn't bite. He assembled a tax panel that designed a code that is much better than our current one, better than Reagan's 1986 tax reform; his political team, probably accurately, determined that the plan would never make it through Congress. Who should bear the blame, Bush or Congress?

True, conservative nirvana has not been reached during the Bush years. But prescription-drug benefits and Sarbanes-Oxley, Bush might argue, were going to happen anyway, and by enacting them on his own watch he made the best of a bad hand. A president is not a king.

Such arguments can go only so far, however, which is one reason Bartlett's book will ignite a lively debate. Government spending has been out of control on Bush's watch, and he has failed to veto a single bill even as the pork spending keeps on rolling. That is troubling, and maybe even a serious flaw, but Bartlett fails to make his case that Bush is comparable to Nixon.

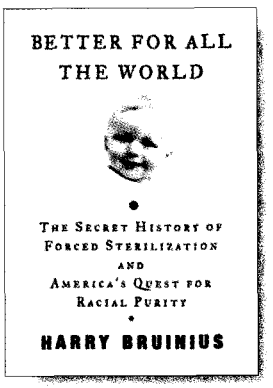
Economics may be Bartlett's primary concern, but it will not be history's, and it has not been Bush's. The Bush legacy will be inescapably bound to the Middle East. His bold gambits in Afghanistan and Iraq may prove successful, in which case it is hard to imagine history's neutral voices frowning upon the man. History loves courage and conviction. But if terrorism and holy wars fill this century, Bush's failure will be viewed as a crucial and terrible turning point. Courage is not enough if one's convictions are wrong.

**Bartlett's book will ignite a lively debate, because government spending has indeed been out of control on Bush's watch.**

Given these stakes, it is hard to imagine economics influencing the historians' assessments significantly. The economy has been quite strong in recent years, humming along oblivious to the cries of the twin-deficit-obsessed doomsayers. Bush's spending policies may have helped him maintain political support for the War on Terror. His tax policies have contributed to the good economic news, perhaps offsetting the damage from bigger government. Who knows, a peace dividend may even help bring government back to a reasonable scale sometime soon.

One can bet that Bush has adopted the stances that he has, not because he is an impostor, but because he believes, as Harry Truman did, that time is on his side. "To hell with them," Truman once said, "When history is written they will be the sons of bitches—not I." **NR**

# The Eugenicist Temptation


BETTER FOR ALL THE WORLD
THE SECRET HISTORY OF FORCED STERILIZATION AND AMERICA'S QUEST FOR RACIAL PURITY
HARRY BRUINIUS

*Better for All the World: The Secret History of Forced Sterilization and America's Quest for Racial Purity*, by Harry Bruinius (Knopf, 416 pp., $30)

WESLEY J. SMITH

THE United States is an amazing country. Our system of liberty under law is the gold standard of political freedom. Our dynamic free market drives the world economy. Our sacrifices of blood and treasure to free subjugated peoples and succor victims of natural and man-made calamities are too many to recount. Yet, in our history we have also inflicted terrible wrongs upon vulnerable people. Slavery, Jim Crow, and our treatment of indigenous populations can hardly make us swell with pride.

And then there was the American eugenics movement, under which, journalism professor Harry Bruinius vividly reminds us in his new book, "the great god Science" invidiously divided members of the human race into "fit" versus "unfit" castes. "Like cattle and peas, some were [deemed] better than others, with greater claim to dignity," the author writes. "Like pigs and flowers, humans could be judged for fitness at the county fair. Like weaklings of the flock, some should be made to perish."

**Mr. Smith is a senior fellow at the Discovery Institute and a special consultant to the Center for Bioethics and Culture. His website is www.WesleyJSmith.com.**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In recent years, there have been several good histories of eugenics, most notably Edwin Black's *War Against the Weak*. Bruinius's book is a valuable addition to the list. Its thorough research and skilled prose alone would make it worthy of attention; but Bruinius's unconventional approach is what makes it really stand out. Rather than write a standard beginning-to-end historical narrative, the author offers a collection of mini-biographies of the people who were most responsible for, or victimized by, American eugenics. The effect is to personalize the subject without sacrificing historical depth.

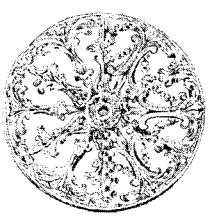
Bruinius wisely begins by telling the story of the tragic life of Carrie Buck. Buck was the daughter of a prostitute who may have been raped by a member of her foster family and impregnated. Perhaps to cover up the crime against its ward, the family had her institutionalized. Buck's doctors, eugenics ideologues all, "diagnosed" her as a "high grade moron" and saw the young woman as a prime example of how the "feeble minded" were polluting the human gene pool. They wanted to sterilize Buck, as permitted by Virginia law. But rather than just do the deed, they decided instead to use their patient as a test case to gain the imprimatur of the U.S. Supreme Court on the practice of eugenics.

Lawyers who actually supported Virginia's law brought a test case *against* involuntary sterilization in Buck's name. Despite their views, they made some good arguments on her behalf, warning, for example, that a decision upholding the Virginia statute would unleash "a reign of doctors," leading "in the name of science" to "new classes [and] even races" being "brought within the scope of such regulation, and the worst forms of tyranny practiced." This prescient warning made not a dent on the mind and conscience of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, eugenics enthusiast and social Darwinist. Writing for an 8–1 majority in the infamous 1927 *Buck* v. *Bell*, Holmes led his colleagues in shamefully condemning Buck to forced sterilization on the grounds that "three generations of imbeciles are enough."

Bruinius reminds us that Carrie Buck was more than a mere name on an infamous court case: She was an innocent woman whose life was unjustly blighted because her country robbed her of the ability to have children. And—as if to demonstrate the fallaciousness of eugenics theory—Buck's daughter, the supposed "third generation" imbecile, eventually earned admission to her school's honor roll before dying in childhood.

Bruinius next turns to those most responsible for the inception of eugenics and its metastatic spread. Eugenics, which means "good in birth," was the brainchild of the brilliant English statistician (and cousin of Charles Darwin) Francis Galton. In this account, Galton comes across as a stereotypical upper-class Victorian elitist whose sexual hangups and deep antagonism to religion drove him to conclude that human beings should be subjected to genetic husbandry. In Galton's "positive eugenics," the better human beings—meaning, of course, people like him—would be induced to marry and produce large families. Galton wanted the government to sponsor a national contest that would culminate annually with a mass marriage ceremony in Westminster Abbey, in which ten "deeply blushing young men," all 25 years old, would marry ten fecund 20-year-old women, matched to their husbands for their eugenic potential. The couples would be given £5,000 (a lot of money in those days) and charged with procreating bounteously.

Galton, however, was not the man most responsible for unleashing eugenics on the world; that dubious honor belongs to American biologist Charles Davenport. Davenport hero-worshipped Galton and convinced the Carnegie Institution to fund a eugenics project. In 1904, courtesy of Carnegie's open wallet, he founded the Station for Experimental Evolution at Cold Spring Harbor, N.Y., which spent the next few decades conducting detailed eugenic analyses of American families and promoting eugenics policies.



It is tempting to look back at Davenport with such disdain that we miss his human side. Bruinius does not make that mistake, bringing his subject to three-dimensional life without excusing or justifying Davenport's destructive legacy. I was particularly touched by Davenport the precocious child, who founded a neighborhood newspaper, the *Twinkling Star*, and took up journal writing; in retrospect, it is heartbreaking to read the pure innocence that shines through some of the young Davenport's diary entries. By his middle years, though, Davenport was capable of writing the following: "Idiots, low imbeciles, and dangerous criminals may under appropriate restrictions be prevented from procreation—either by segregation during the reproductive period or even by sterilization. Society must protect itself; as it claims the right to deprive the murderer of his life so also it may annihilate the hideous serpent of hopelessly vicious protoplasm."

Davenport's second-in-command and eventual successor at the Cold Spring Harbor project was a particularly bigoted and nasty man named Harry Laughlin, who gained national prominence as the foremost "expert" on eugenics as it related to immigration policy. Laughlin's work did not bode well for those fleeing oppression, particularly Jews. In the mid-1930s, he was commissioned by the Special Committee for the New York State Chamber of Commerce to opine on the contentious issue of immigration reform. The "Laughlin Report," which urged that the quotas for Jews (and all nonwhites) be greatly reduced owing to their supposed racial inferiority, found unfortunate favor in Washington—helping ensure that those fleeing the Nazi pogrom would find no refuge in the U.S.

Certain German racial purists were mightily impressed by the successes of the American eugenics movement. Laughlin returned their admiration: After Hitler assumed power in 1933, Laughlin defended Germany's newly enacted sterilization laws. He noted correctly that the German law was little different from those of some American states, and lauded the new government for recognizing the "biological foundations of national character." Laughlin would later travel to Germany and receive an honorary doctorate in "racial hygiene," the German term for eugenics.

Before their deaths, both Davenport and Laughlin experienced some poetic justice. Davenport's daughter rejected his strict morality for the life of a flapper and Bohemian, behaving in ways Davenport sought in vain to eradicate through strict control of protoplasm; even worse in the eyes of her anti-Semitic father was her



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

2 must-have DVDs only $19.95 each

# Celebrate and enjoy!

## Two great events: National Review's 50th Anniversary and Bill Buckley's 80th Birthday

They were two nights to remember. On October 6th, the National Review Institute was proud to sponsor the 50th Anniversary soirée of America's premier journal of opinion. And oh, what a night it was—1,000 exuberant people in attendance, wall-to-wall conservative illuminati (led by Rush Limbaugh, George Will, Henry Hyde, and M. Stanton Evans) standing athwart the atrium of Washington's historic National Building Museum yelling "Don't stop!", unrivaled music and revelry, a fascinating "History of *NR*" video, powerful remembrance speeches by Bill Buckley and Rich Lowry, and so much more.

A few weeks later, this time in New York City, the National Review Institute was proud to sponsor another major celebratory event—the 80th birthday party honoring the founder of the conservative movement, William F. Buckley Jr. And oh, what a swell party it was: brilliantly emceed by Christopher Buckley, a hugely entertaining video history of the night's honoree, touching tributes by John O'Sullivan and the beloved Priscilla Buckley, delightful musical performances from the renowned Yale Whiffenpoofs and Harvard Krokodiloes, and again—so very much more.

Of course, we filmed these two wonderful events, and now, for your enjoyment, the National Review Institute has captured the highlights of these two remarkable and festive nights in professionally edited and produced DVDs that are a must for every fan of *National Review* and its esteemed founder.

Both of these entertaining DVDs—each well over an hour in length—are available direct from the National Review Institute for the very affordable cost of only $19.95 each. Please use the handy form below to order.

*(The National Review Institute is a charitable and tax-exempt organization 501(c)(3) founded by William F. Buckley in 1991 to promote conservative ideas and causes.)*

---

**MAIL TO:** NATIONAL REVIEW INSTITUTE, 215 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, NY 10016

YES, I wish to enjoy the celebrations. Please send me the following:

_____ DVD(s) of the **National Review 50th Anniversary Party** (cost: $19.95 each)

_____ DVD(s) copies of the **William F. Buckley Jr. 80th Birthday Party** (cost: $19.95 each)

$_____ Total payment enclosed (please add $3.00 for shipping and handling charges)

I also wish to sustain the work and mission of the National Review Institute. Enclosed is my additional, tax-exempt contribution of $ _____.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP _____

**PAYMENT INFORMATION:** Please send payment by money order or check payable to the "National Review Institute." The National Review Institute cannot accept credit card orders. Foreign orders add $3.00 per item.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

marriage to a divorced Jewish man with three children. And Laughlin, who hid his own "unfitness" (he had epilepsy) behind aggressive eugenics advocacy, crashed and burned as a national figure when Carnegie finally pulled the plug on Cold Spring Harbor. He died in 1943, a forgotten man.

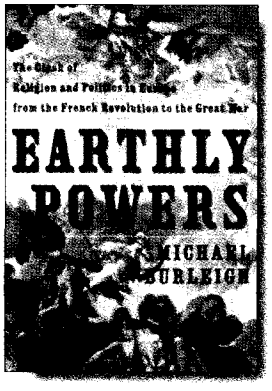
Bruinius concludes by sounding the alarm that eugenics thinking, once thoroughly discredited by the Holocaust, is on the comeback trail. Neo-eugenicists and futurists—primarily residing in university bioethics departments and libertarian think tanks—hubristically believe that they can pursue the utopian goals of the original eugenics movement (absent the racial discrimination and anti-Semitism) through genetic engineering without also unchaining destructive social forces. It wasn't the hope of improving the human gene pool that caused catastrophe, these laissez faire eugenicists assert: It was the involvement of government in the quest.

To the contrary: Eugenics springs from a poisoned intellectual well. The very idea that we have the right to decide which human traits to enhance and which to eradicate is what leads to trouble. Social pressure can oppress even without formal government action. Besides, if the new eugenics became popular, it wouldn't take long for politicians to get into the act.

But pointing to past wrongs is not enough to carry the day: Eugenics thinking has to be defeated at its roots, morally and intellectually. Bruinius worries that this will prove difficult in the modern materialist age, and correctly identifies the key question that must be confronted: "What is the foundation of human dignity in light of evolution? Or, more precisely, what is the scientific basis for individual rights in light of the malleable human genome?" Regrettably, the author has—unnecessarily—accepted the human reductionism inherent in the philosophy of Darwinian materialism, so he struggles in vain to find effective answers.

But the answers are there, and public intellectuals and cultural leaders had better explore and expound upon them. Otherwise, Bruinius vividly prophesies, the "epic modern quest of science" that is smashing "the old authorities, discovering the secrets of nature and unleashing the unprecedented forces of new technologies" could "bring about the doom of [liberal] civilization as we know it." **NR**

# Clash by Night




*Earthly Powers: The Clash of Religion and Politics in Europe from the French Revolution to the Great War*, by Michael Burleigh (HarperCollins, 544 pp., $29.95)

ROSS G. DOUTHAT

ANYONE who thinks that American political life has been poisoned and polarized beyond any hope of cure should try to guess what nightmare of Napoleonic tyranny the French priest Félicité de Lamennais had in mind when he declared, following the Bourbon Restoration: "I have no hesitation in saying that, of all Bonaparte's conceptions, [this is] the most appalling to every considering man, the most profoundly anti-social, in a word the most characteristic of its author. . . . When the tyrant thought he had made sure by so many horrible laws of the misery of the present generation, he raised this monstrous edifice as a monument to his hatred for future generations; it was as though he wanted to rob the human race even of hope."

The "monstrous edifice" in question was none other than the Sorbonne University—and by the standards of 19th-century political rhetoric, Lamennais's vituperation was relatively tame. Indeed, his is among the more temperate voices echoing through Michael Burleigh's sweeping new book, *Earthly Powers*. An ultramontanist Catholic who spent the 1820s and '30s trying to reconcile the papacy to republican government, Lamennais was one of the few figures in that era who approached politics as something other than the extension of war by other means. His hopes were dashed: His intended rapprochement between Catholics and liberals foundered on the intolerance of both, and he died disappointed in 1854, leaving the stage to more uncompromising figures.

There is a tendency to view the European 19th century as a period of vanished tranquility—a hundred years of peace, optimism, and progress between the chaos of the French Revolution and the charnel house of World War I. Burleigh's book is an antidote to such nostalgia, and a reminder that the 1800s were the period when the ideas unleashed in 1789—the enthronement of political religion, in particular, and the deification of the nation and the state—worked themselves deep into the soil of continental politics, whence the poisoned fruit of 20th-century totalitarianism would spring.

Beginning with the political religion of revolutionary France, and carrying the story through the radicalization of the Russian intelligentsia, Italy's Risorgimento, Bismarck's Kulturkampf, and France's various convulsions, Burleigh paints a vivid portrait of secular utopianism's advance, and the struggle of the Christian churches to hold their newfound enemy at bay. The book contains perhaps too many multitudes: What began as an account of civic cults and nationalist rituals among Jacobins, Bolsheviks, and Nazis grew in the telling, Burleigh notes in his introduction, and the result is usually fascinating but often scattershot. But while the story tends to wander, leaping unexpectedly from theme to theme and nation to nation, the narrative voice never falters: Burleigh's tone is at once perceptive and dyspeptic, impatient with cant and weary of utopianism—perfect for a tale that has many extremists but few heroes.

His fiercest scorn is reserved for the political religions and their missionaries: The chapter on the Jacobins is entitled "Puritans Thinking They Are Spartans

**Mr. Douthat is an associate editor at *The Atlantic Monthly*, and author of *Privilege: Harvard and the Education of the Ruling Class*.**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Run Amok in Eighteenth-Century Paris," and he dismisses the idealized "new man" beloved of Russian radicals as "a tyro of enormous will, a little poorly digested utilitarian knowledge, no capacity for self-doubt, and blinkered singularity of purpose." He is withering on various icons of Victorian thought, from Auguste Comte—whose ideology "was cosmic, as well as comic, in ambition," and whose "obsession with numbers, systems, and order was not unrelated to the squalor of his private life and his intermittent bouts of madness"—to Charles Fourier, whose work displayed "an extraordinary mixture of fitful insights into human nature and fantasies that suggest advanced megalomaniacal derangement."

Burleigh has a keen eye, as well, for how smoothly the various apostles of reason lapsed into credulity and superstition. Robert Owen, the English industrialist and social reformer, spent his twilight years visiting mediums and "attempting to commune with the spirit world"—which, Burleigh notes, was "an eccentric fate for the founder of a Rational Society." Comte's "religion of humanity" owed a significant debt to his sexual obsession, frustrated by impotence, with a much younger woman named Clothilde de Vaux: She was the type for a cult of womanhood that figured prominently in his proposed faith, and after her death he made her memory the focus of a monkish regimen, with her last love letter substituting for the Monastic Breviary. And outright silliness intruded, frequently, into the quest for progress and national self-determination: The sixth of Garibaldi's ten "patriotic commandments," issued during the unification of the Italian peninsula, announced that "Thou shalt not fornicate, unless it be to harm the enemies of Italy."

But if the political religions of the era were often little more than spilt Christianity, as intolerant in their way as the old order they replaced, Burleigh also makes it clear that, in the struggle for the European soul, the Christian churches rarely missed an opportunity to miss an opportunity. Though he is partial to Catholicism, and goes out of his way to distinguish between the failings of the Church and the sins of its members, reading *Earthly Powers* will make any Catholic thankful for the likes of Benedict XVI and John Paul II—as opposed to the succession of 19th-century Popes who clung, hopelessly but doggedly, to temporal power and a throne-and-altar world gone by. With the honorable exception of Leo XIII, who did much to reconcile the Church to the realities of democracy and the industrial age, the occupants of the see of Peter were either pious incompetents like Gregory XVI—"motionless in the thick darkness that surrounds him," Lamennais wrote, "he weeps and prays"—or stiff-necked blunderers like Pius IX, who lost the Papal States and penned the *Syllabus of Errors*, a document whose prescient warnings about nationalism were lost amid a cascade of venom. ("Rhetorical moderation, sensitivity, and subtlety were alien to him," Burleigh remarks.)

Many of the Protestant churches were, if anything, even worse—less nostalgic than the Holy See for a vanished age of absolutism, but more vulnerable to the siren song of ideologies that promised heaven on earth, or substituted the nation-state for God. In Germany, in particular, the Protestant willingness to uncritically embrace Teutonic nationalism anticipated the tragedies of the following century. The "Hegelian strain in liberal Protestant theology," Burleigh points out, "in which whatever one felt powerfully enough was indicative of the *developing* presence of God," lent itself easily to the deification of nationalist enthusiasms—culminating in August 1914, when a German pastor could argue unselfconsciously that "God is what the god-inspired people do."

The churches come off a little better when Burleigh considers their response to the dislocations of the Industrial Revolution: Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum Novarum* steered Catholicism neatly, if somewhat glibly, between the Scylla of unfettered capitalism and the Charybdis of statism, and Catholics and Protestants alike carried out missionary work in the worst industrial slums, devoting their lives to people many secular utopians seemed to care for only in the abstract. But here, too, there is a sense of opportunities lost: With the exception of England, where the absence of both despotism and revolution cleared the stage for common sense, the Christian response to industrial poverty was too often overshadowed by the squabbles between church and state—and many Christians' eagerness to lift up the working class was matched only by a zeal to blame their plight on the rapacity of the Jews.

Indeed, *Earthly Powers* presents the whole of the 19th century as a lost opportunity for European Christianity, which adapted too slowly to a changing world, while either losing ground to the new political religions or tailoring its teachings to suit the spirit of the age. And though Burleigh ends his tale in 1914, leaving the "strange gods" of Communism and National Socialism to a future book, the past he depicts is prologue to our present—in which Europe lies fallow and spiritually exhausted, and Christianity is perceived to be just as discredited as the various faiths that sought to supplant it.

Secularization, Burleigh writes, was "not the ever receding tide imagined by Matthew Arnold in his poem 'Dover Beach,' but a movement of complex currents washing over a craggy shore, where the rock pools have been constantly replenished." But we are at an ebb tide now: The only water rushing into Europe's coves and tidepools comes from the south and east, and two centuries of war between Christianity and political religion seem to have ended with the evaporation of both, leaving a desert behind that some call peace. **NR**


**LEGACY**

*WHAT WILL YOURS BE?*

What will you bequeath to future generations? How will the ideals you cherish *now* be sustained *then*? Who will articulate your principles for the sake of your grandchildren, your faith, your community, and your country?

There is an answer.

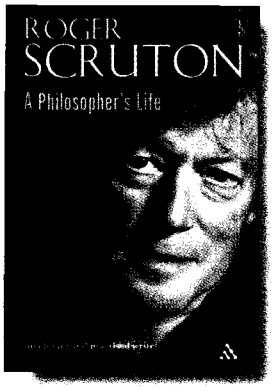
With your help, *National Review* will endure as a powerful voice, sustaining those beliefs you hold dear. Now. And for future generations. As ever, standing athwart history, yelling Stop.

To obtain more information about remembering *National Review* in your will or estate, please contact:
*National Review*, Legacy
Attn.: James Kilbridge
215 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10016
212-679-7330




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# An Inward Turn




*Gentle Regrets: Thoughts from a Life*, by Roger Scruton (Continuum, 256 pp., $28.95)

ROGER KIMBALL

Most readers of National Review know of Roger Scruton, the English philosopher, opera composer, rider to hounds, anti-Communist agitator, polemicist, and author of a long shelf of books. But I would wager that few readers are acquainted with the creature who emerges from *Gentle Regrets*, Scruton's wistful, magnanimous, and ineluctably intelligent memoir. For while there are a few grains of philosophy in this book, something about music and opera, a chapter about horses and hunting, and a handful of intellectual and political battles recalled, Roger Scruton the public personage is only intermittently on view. Instead we are introduced to a shy, even timid, boy. He has red hair—horrors! His father, a bitter, lower-middle-class socialist, resents Roger's existence almost as much as he resents his own. His mother, in a desperate bid for refinement, calls him "Vernon" (his middle name, but how could fate be so cruel?).

The story of Scruton's childhood features a dialogue, sometimes a duel, between Vernon, the sensitive boy who is fond of books and music, and Roger, the rebel "with a talent for home-made bombs," whose belligerence was transmogrified, if not tamed, when he, too, began to share Vernon's intellectual and aesthetic passions. Roger was the official winner, beginning that fateful day on the school playground when a bully named Herman, who pronounced anathema upon red hair and all its works, intersected decisively with Roger's stationary, outstretched fist. "Henceforth," Scruton reports, "I was Roger to everyone, including my family, who were told that the choice was simple: Either they ceased to call me Vernon, or I went to live with the gypsies."

There are two main themes in this book. One is gratitude, late won. The other is loss, its recuperative powers.

Scruton invites readers to witness the spectacle of his sentimental education, from his encounter with *Pilgrim's Progress* when he was 13—"suddenly I was in a visionary landscape, where even the most ordinary things come dressed in astonishment"—through his flirtation with radicalism and subsequent disillusionment with prophets of disillusion. Scruton won a scholarship to Cambridge, performed brilliantly, and, in a normal world, would have gone on to enjoy a brilliant academic career. But normality is the least normal thing. And so Scruton's primary adventures in academia, first at Birkbeck College, London, and then at Boston University, were rocky. BU provided a sympathetic setting, largely because its president at the time, John Silber, had the courage to resist the philosophy of political correctness, according to which all points of view are eagerly embraced except those that are conservative or that otherwise take issue with left-wing orthodoxy.

**Scruton defended his opinions with wit and skill. Imagine: an intelligent conservative, skilled in argument.**

But quotidian academia was not welcoming to Scruton. He had perpetrated the ghastly error of entertaining conservative opinions, an error compounded by the bad taste of defending those opinions with scarifying wit and rhetorical skill. Imagine: an intelligent conservative, skilled in argument. Such a beast was not only rare, its presence was unforgivable. The temerity of someone swanning into the common rooms of modern cultural life and pointing out their intellectual and moral deficiencies! When Isaiah Berlin turned 80, Scruton had the effrontery to publish an article that was not wholly sycophantic. The result was instant ostracism from an academic establishment that encouraged openness and debate about everything except its own pieties. When Scruton published a book with Longman's, another philosopher took it upon himself to write to the publisher: "I may tell you with dismay that many colleagues here [in Oxford] feel that the Longman imprint—a respected one—has been tarnished by association with Scruton's work."

Tough words, but Scruton learned to take it in stride. "In time, I came to see that he was right. Someone who believes in real distinctions between people has no place in a humanities department, the main purpose of which is to deliver the ideology required by life in the postmodern world." And so Scruton withdrew from the groves of academia to devote himself to writing, composing music, and tending his farm in Wiltshire.

*Gentle Regrets* is the record of an extraordinary life, minuted "Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita." Scruton's readers in Britain and America are grateful for or infuriated by his books and articles, but in Eastern Europe Scruton is known perhaps less as an author than as an architect of liberty. He worked long and hard in the 1980s in samizdat enclaves to help smash the tyrannous yoke of Communism, and was duly followed, harassed, and roughed up by the secret police for his efforts. No wonder that semi-recumbent Oxford don felt that a publisher's good name might be "tarnished by association with Scruton's work."

The book also contains many memorable portraits of Scruton's friends, teachers, inspirations, antagonists: Ivor Deas, the self-effacing town librarian who introduced Scruton to the world of books; Peter Fuller, the passionate former Marxist and art critic who, for a brief moment before his untimely death, revivified British art

**Mr. Kimball is the publisher of Encounter Books, and the co-editor and co-publisher of *The New Criterion*.**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

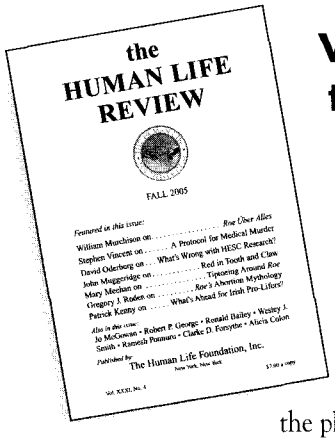
criticism; Maurice Cowling, the extraordinary Peterhouse don who was mentor to a generation of intellectual dissenters. There are the three Sams in Scruton's life: a disagreeable mutt he cared for and loved as a child, a horse that helps to complete his training as a horseman, and finally his son. Particularly touching are Scruton's pages about Monsignor Gilbey, the Catholic chaplain at Cambridge, "a genuinely holy man, who attempted to synthesize the worldly competence of the gentleman, the sacrificial ardours of the saint, and the contemplative invulnerability of the monk into a single shining ideal." How refreshing to learn that Monsignor Gilbey taught that the duty of the Christian is not to leave the world a better place but to leave the world a better man.

*Gentle Regrets* is full of wise obiter dicta, e.g., that "there is no weapon in the armory of nothingness more lethal than TV," whose main purpose is "to ephemeralize our affections by putting momentary fantasy in the place of lasting curiosity and voyeuristic appetite in the place of feeling." Or this: Muslims, who are so obviously in the business of social as well as biological reproduction, "show us what we *really* stand to lose, if we hold nothing sacred: namely, the future."

Intellectually, the most thrilling part of Scruton's book is the chapter called "How I Became a Conservative." It opens in 1968 in Paris with slogans, shattered shop windows, and spoiled radicals. It ends with Scruton's encounter with the philosophy of Edmund Burke, that apostle of tradition, authority, and prejudice. Prejudice? How awful that word sounds to enlightened ears. But Scruton reminds us that prejudice, far from being synonymous with bigotry, can, rightly understood, be a prime resource in freedom's armory. "Our most necessary beliefs," Scruton writes, "may be both unjustified and unjustifiable from our own perspective, and . . . the attempt to justify them will lead merely to their loss. . . . The real justification for a prejudice is the one that justifies it *as* a prejudice, rather than as a rational conclusion of an argument." Burke saw with penetrating insight that freedom was not the antonym of authority or the repudiation of obedience. "Real freedom," writes Scruton, "concrete freedom, the freedom that can actually be defined, claimed and granted, was not the opposite of obedience but its other side. The abstract, unreal freedom of the liberal intellect was really nothing more than childish disobedience, amplified into anarchy." Scruton's absorption of Burke's teaching marked the onset of political maturity, the emancipation from fantasies of groundless emancipation whose name is "utopia," Greek for "nowhere."

If there is a subtext in *Gentle Regrets*, it involves the Burkean theme that the pursuit of utopia (or call it "socialism" if you prefer a modern title) always ends badly. The recognition of that truth comes not all at once, and depends less upon intellectual acknowledgment than upon spiritual awakening. Scruton comes bearing news about permanent things, one part of which is the evanescence of human aspiration. Hence the governing word "loss." There is a sense in which conservatism is anti-Romantic, since it is constitutionally suspicious of the schemes of perfection Romanticism typically espouses. But there is another sense in which conservatism is deeply Romantic: the sense in which it recognizes and embraces the ineradicable frailty, the ultimate futility of things human. "And so," Scruton writes at the end of his chapter on Burke, "I acquired the consciousness of death and dying, without which the world cannot be *loved for what it is*. That, in essence, is what it means to be a conservative." Which is to say that without the consciousness of loss, there is nothing a conservative would find worth conserving. It is only by facing up to necessary loss, Scruton writes, that we can build on the dream of ultimate recuperation.

The philosopher Leszek Kolakowski once wrote that religion teaches us how to be a failure. In the essay "Regaining My Religion," which concludes *Gentle Regrets*, Scruton endorses that insight and shows how one of the most harrowing depredations of the modern world is to rob us of the religious sense, which is to say the sense of loss. Too often, he notes, "there is neither love nor happiness—only fun. For us, one might be tempted to suggest, the loss of religion is the loss of loss." The central teaching of this wise and companionable book is that the acknowledgment of loss is not the end but the prelude to the possession of joy. **NR**


**Vital intelligence for thoughtful pro-lifers**

For over 30 years, the *Human Life Review* has provided pro-life readers with critical information and principled arguments in defense of life.

According to William F. Buckley Jr., the *Review* "has been making a sensational historical contribution to the philosophical integrity of the pro-life position. This powerful journal is quite simply the locus of civilized discussion on abortion, euthanasia and related issues."

Serious scholars and advocates won't want to be without the important ideas and essays which appear quarterly in the *Human Life Review*. See for yourself by visiting our website at **www.humanlifereview.com** where you can take advantage of our special Free-issue offer (enter keycode NR106).

*the* Human Life Review

**TRUTH & REASON IN DEFENSE OF LIFE**

(212) 685-5210 humanlifereview@mindspring.com

P.O. Box 574 • New York, NY 10157-0072




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ CITY DESK ■

# Walk the Talk

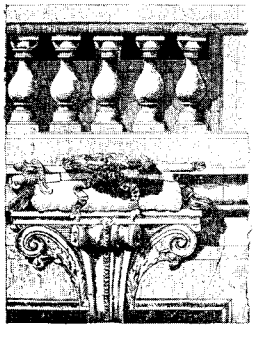
RICHARD BROOKHISER

TOM WOLFE spelled it *tawk* (rhymes with *Noo Yawk*). Talk is one of our exports, like oil or terror. From Damon Runyon to Delmore Schwartz to Al Sharpton to Howard Stern, New York is the city of yakkers and jivers. But can we talk in any structured way, or to any purpose? Can we hold salons?

The salon, or the discussion club, or the dining club, flourished in Boston before it appeared here. Charles Francis Adams belonged to one, as did the late George Apley. I imagine New York caught up with the custom when it surpassed Boston and Philadelphia as the intellectual, as well as commercial, capital of the nation. Running a salon should be the easiest thing in the world: the great ideas, the news of the day, a pinch of malice, twelve tongues, and you're off. But, having passed through a number of such groups over the years, a few of which fell silent, I can testify that good talk is harder than it looks.

Ideas may be disembodied, shimmering Platonic forms, but we are corporeal, and talk must have a time and place. People have to assemble periodically. In these regimented days, it's not possible to meet more than once a month, but anything less frequent loses the pleasure of repetition. The monthly meeting is the rent we owe goodness, truth, and liveliness. There also has to be a local habitation. Since we talk with our mouths, eating and drinking are natural accompaniments, which means the location will be someone's dining room, a club, or a restaurant or bar. The place has to be chosen with some care. I once belonged to a salon which died largely because it met in an inferior Indian restaurant. The food should not be too good, or inflow will become more important than outflow; yet it cannot be emetic.

There must be next to no discussion of business. Salons must be like the old British regime of Hong Kong—a paternalistic free-for-all, with no politics and few laws. The point is to not talk about the group itself; if our own business consumes us, then we fall into the boredom of post-modernity. The proximate reason for the death of the salon that passed away was that no one liked the Amritsar Massacre, or whatever the restaurant was, which led to endless futile discussions of where we might convene instead. Someone should have just riffled Zagat and pointed. A salon must have a dictator who, unlike Mussolini, truly serves the group. If the salon occurs in someone's home, then the host or hostess is the obvious candidate. Otherwise the talkers must accept the Lord's election. The dictator has to remind talkers of meetings, and collect whatever dues are necessary to defray expenses. The only business that properly concerns talkers is admitting new members, when old ones move, die, or become otherwise unclubbable. Quaker consensus is the best form of selection, and may even be the only possible one: Voting immediately steers a salon in the direction of a faculty department.



In addition to the dictator there must also be a conductor (possibly the same person): the man or woman who floats the topic, who floats another if the first dies stillborn, who raps a glass if too many voices are speaking at once. The models for a good conductor are not Bernstein or Cab Calloway—no hams, please—rather the Baroque maestro who sat on his harpsichord bench and led from the keyboard. The conductor does nothing, except allow everyone to do his thing, which is a considerable task.

What about the talkers? What must they be like, and what must they be able to do besides talk? A good salon depends on a proper distance between all its members. There should be few close friends. Intimacy admits unspoken knowledge of motives and circumstances, which distracts from what is said. The French salons of the *fin de l'Ancien Régime* were rife with intimate relationships; the novelist Mme. de Flahaut frequently welcomed as a guest at her salons Talleyrand, then Bishop of Autun, who was the father of her child. But since no one took it personally, they could talk away. A salon should also enjoy the distance bred by variety of occupation and opinion. In Manhattan the former is easier to achieve than the latter. How could Nixon have won, Pauline Kael famously asked, since everyone she knew had voted for McGovern? But the members must make the effort when they first coalesce, and as they replenish their ranks, or they might as well talk only around the water cooler, or to their friends.

The most important quality in those who do the talking is listening. A salon is not combat, and since one may hear something new, or uncongenial, neither is it a pep rally. The old gambling ballad says, when you lose your money, learn to lose. A song about salons would say, when you lose your point, listen to the person on your left.

A salon is not the Constitutional Convention, or a Socratic dialogue. (The *Symposium* occurs at a dinner party, but Socrates' pushy Boswell, Plato, shapes it in his own image.) The big-deal discussions were urgent occasions, saving a nation or a soul. "Something must be done, or we shall disappoint not only America, but the whole world," said Elbridge Gerry. "Do you think it a small matter that you are attempting to determine and not the entire conduct of life?" asked Socrates. A salon is exercise: Step forward; hold back; think of that; say it well. You could find all the opinions, including your own, in the newspapers, or online. But then, where would you yourself be? We don't vote, marry, swear, or die by proxy; these, and many other crucial functions, have to be done in person. The same with thinking. Having a meal with some acquaintances once a month helps keep that overworked, undertrained organ, the mind, in shape. **NR**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## classified advertisements

### BOOKS

***UNITED STATES COAST GUARD: 1790 TO THE PRESENT.*** Thomas P. Ostrom's Definitive USCG history. Praised by maritime publications. Now available on CD, read by the author. 800-431-1579

### BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

$400 WEEKLY ASSEMBLING PRODUCTS. For free information, send SASE: Home Assembly—NR Box 216, New Britain, CT 06050-0216

**CHRISTIAN-BASED TECHNOLOGY COMPANY**

Are you looking for:

- A Career Working from Home
- Time Freedom and Choices
- Part-Time and Full-Time Income
- $81K Average Manager Income
- Genuine Business Opportunity
- 19-Year-Old Stable Company
- Certified for Space Technology

Did you know:

- There are 18 million home businesses in the US today!
- Home business is 53% of all small business in America!
- Home business owners work 10 hours less per week than others! Families matter!

Call and talk to us today.
Toll Free: 877-336-9984

### FUN AND FITNESS

**YOUR FULL-SERVICE ONLINE CATALOG:**
www.ballsandmoreathletics.com
*Serving you is our game!*

### HOTELS

Use **BidonTravel.com** tips for the lowest prices on great hotels.

**CLASSIFIED INFORMATION**
**Rates:** $4.50 per word (10-word min).
**Call:** Kevin Longstreet, 212-679-7330.
**Deadlines:** Every other Friday (approx. 6 days before the magazine is printed).

"Rated One of New York City 'Best Value' Hotels." ... *Zagats*

New York's all suite hotel is located in the heart of the city, near corporations, theatre & great restaurants. Affordable elegance with all the amenities of home.

MURRAY HILL EAST SUITES
149 E. 39th St. (Bet 3rd & Lex) New York, NY 10016
*Reservations 1-800-248-9999*
***Ask about our special National Review rates.***

ALL-SUITE COMFORT IN THE HEART OF FOGGY BOTTOM

**Enjoy unique comfort and style in our cozy, tree-lined residential neighborhood.**

- Spacious suites with full kitchens
- Tastefully renovated with quality furnishings
- Two blocks from GWU/Foggy Bottom Metro
- Complimentary high-speed internet access
- The acclaimed *DISH* restaurant on-premises

**888-874-0100**

THE·RIVER·INN
924 25th Street, NW • Washington DC 20037
THERIVERINN.COM

### OF INTEREST TO ALL

**Free Satellite TV System**
1-800-784-7694
Free Installation with Code: A-19043162

### PUBLISHING

CONSERVATIVE PUBLISHER SEEKS POLITICALLY INCORRECT MANUSCRIPTS. EDITOR READS ALL SUBMISSIONS. 541-459-6043.
ELDERBERRYPRESS.COM

### RELIGION

TRADITIONAL ANGLICAN WORSHIP, CATHOLIC FAITH, EVANGELICAL PREACHING. Call the Anglican Catholic Church Information Center. 800-506-7616. www.anglicancatholic.org

### WEBSITES

FREE VAST RIGHT WING CONSPIRACY BUMPER STICKER. Become an official member at:
RightWingConspiracy.org/nr

# Now Get the Official Cap of the Conservative World Champs

Featuring a stylish NR logo, this Navy Blue beaut is crafted of space-agey DuPont "CoolMax" fabric which pulls sweat away from your noggin, keeping you dry and comfy! It costs just $15.95, and you'll flip your lid over this: Buy 2, get the third cap **FREE!**

**Get the Official NR Baseball Cap**

Send me _____ of these great caps (only $15.95 each, including shipping, and I get one FREE if I buy 2!) to:

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ ZIP _____

_____ NUMBER OF CAPS

PAYMENT METHOD

☐ Check enclosed (make payable to "National Review")
Bill to: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa
Acct. No. _____
Expir. Date _____
Signature _____
Total payment $ _____

*N.Y. State residents must include sales tax.*

**NATIONAL REVIEW**
215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# on the right

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

## Austrian Justice

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 21

WELL what do you know! Three years in jail for Prof. David Irving. One part of us wishes they would construct a little cell for him at Auschwitz. Been there, and know just where it should be placed. Just opposite the one (there were four) remaining crematorium where dead Jews were consumed at the rate of one every four minutes, dragged in 15 yards from the gas chamber. The remains were, for a while, dropped into the handy river a kilometer away, until the sheer bulk of human cinders brought complaints that touched the heart of the Gestapo, who found other means of disposal.

The other part of us has to say: What is going on—contemporaneous with the general indignation, in the educated set, over the publication of those cartoons in Denmark? Muhammad departed this earth 1,400 years ago but concern for his image extended to protests around the globe at mere caricatures in a small newspaper. One defender of the faith has offered a million dollar reward for anyone who kills one of the cartoonists. Not many people have applauded their publication—why do something that offends the faithful of another religion? But there has certainly been unanimity in Europe on what is thought the transcendent point, namely the right of several cartoonists, an editor, and a publisher to decide for themselves what taboos to observe, which to ignore.

Two things are certain. One, that it will be a very long time before any editor in Europe (and, for that matter, in the United States) publishes lightheartedly depictions of the prophet. The other, that everyone will defend the proposition that in the free world, people are entitled to express themselves as they choose, even if they choose malevolence or goofiness.

Well, where was Austria during the Muhammad uproar? We don't—in general—know. But it is likeliest that Austrian editors and intellectuals took the Western party line. Free press is free press, and what is your next question?

But then, last November, Mr. Irving was driving in Austria and showed his passport at a routine check point. Clickety-clack, the computers whirred, and he was placed under arrest. A warrant had been issued in 1989, after Irving delivered two speeches reiterating his position on Hitler's genocide. He was charged with having violated a law which applies to "whoever denies, grossly plays down, approves or tries to excuse the National Socialist genocide or other National Socialist crimes against humanity in a print publication, in broadcast or other media."

Auschwitz was liberated 61 years ago. Hitler was born 117 years ago. But the wretched man was born in—Austria. Perhaps if he had been born in Missouri, we'd have tried to enact a law which held criminally liable anybody who doubted that millions of Jews were killed under Hitler's command. But in order to enact such a law, we'd have needed to amend the Constitution.

Mr. Irving testified to a court of three judges and eight jurors that in fact he had revised his position on genocide. He had lately been convinced by the evidence that he had been mistaken, that indeed, at Auschwitz (and other camps), Jews had been slain by the millions. Before that, Mr. Irving, a historian who has published many books, contended that what had happened at Auschwitz was that a lot of prisoners had succumbed not to poison gas, but to diseases, like typhus.

But the jury did not consider Mr. Irving as having expunged the crime of denying the Holocaust in his book, *Hitler's War*. You cannot, the prosecutor successfully contended, undo a crime by regretting it. He might have been sentenced to ten years in prison. In deference, it is said, to his age (67) and his profession, he was given three years.

Austria is wrong, of course. Though one can still believe in the free press and take discreet pleasure that, when it is violated, things can happen to the David Irvings of this world.

## It Didn't Work

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 24

"I CAN tell you the main reason behind all our woes—it is America." The *New York Times* reporter is quoting the complaint of a clothing merchant in a Sunni stronghold in Iraq. "Everything that is going on between Sunni and Shiites, the troublemaker in the middle is America."

One can't doubt that the American objective in Iraq has failed. The same edition of the paper quotes a fellow of the American Enterprise Institute. Mr. Reuel Marc Gerecht backed the American intervention. He now speaks of the bombing of the especially sacred Shiite mosque in Samarra and what that has precipitated in the way of revenge. He concludes that "the bombing has completely demolished" what was being attempted—to bring Sunnis into the defense and interior ministries.

Our mission has failed because Iraqi animosities have proved uncontainable by an invading army of 130,000 Americans. The great human reserves that call for civil life haven't proved strong enough. No doubt they are latently there, but they have not been able to contend against the ice men who move about in the shadows with bombs and grenades and pistols.

The Iraqis we hear about are first indignant, and then infuriated, that Americans aren't on the scene to protect them and to punish the aggressors. And so they join the clothing merchant who says that everything is the fault of the Americans.

The Iranian president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, elucidates on the complaint against Americans. It is not only that the invaders are American, it is that they are "Zionists." It would not be surprising to learn from an anonymously cited American soldier that he can



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

understand why Saddam Hussein was needed to keep the Sunnis and the Shiites from each others' throats.

A problem for American policymakers—for President Bush, ultimately—is to cope with the postulates and decide how to proceed.

One of these postulates, from the beginning, was that the Iraqi people, whatever their tribal differences, would suspend internal divisions in order to get on with life in a political structure that guaranteed them religious freedom.

The accompanying postulate was that the invading American army would succeed in training Iraqi soldiers and policymakers to cope with insurgents bent on violence.

This last did not happen. And the administration has, now, to cope with failure. It can defend itself historically, standing by the inherent reasonableness of the postulates. After all, they govern our policies in Latin America, in Africa, and in much of Asia. The failure in Iraq does not force us to generalize that violence and antidemocratic movements always prevail. It does call on us to adjust to the question, What do we do when we see that the postulates do not prevail—in the absence of interventionist measures (we used these against Hirohito and Hitler) which we simply are not prepared to take? It is healthier for the disillusioned American to concede that in one theater in the Mideast, the postulates didn't work. The alternative would be to abandon the postulates. To do that would be to register a kind of philosophical despair. The killer insurgents are not entitled to blow up the shrine of American idealism.

Mr. Bush has a very difficult internal problem here because to make the kind of concession that is strategically appropriate requires a mitigation of policies he has several times affirmed in high-flown pronouncements. His challenge is to persuade himself that he can submit to a historical reality without forswearing basic commitments in foreign policy.

He will certainly face the current development as military leaders are expected to do: They are called upon to acknowledge a tactical setback, but to insist on the survival of strategic policies.

Yes, but within their own counsels, different plans have to be made. And the kernel here is the acknowledgment of defeat.

## Next Step

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 28

THERE are military historians who can list for you battles in recorded time in which one of the contending parties knew ahead that his side was doomed. In such cases it was sometimes necessary to fight on, because there was no alternative. Genghis Khan offered zero inducements to surrender. Whether the opponent would die from the enemy's sword or his own was worth reflection, but none of it was given over to life or death: There would be death in any case. In ensuing centuries, wars became less than final events for many soldiers, and terms of engagement changed. Robert E. Lee did not reasonably expect to be executed if he surrendered. Nor did General Lee expect, after General Sherman's march, that the South would win the war. But he fought on.

By what was he driven? Contemporary concepts of honor? It was something other than reason—he was too skilled to have misjudged, at that point, the outcome of the war. If Hitler had known in June 1941, what would befall the German army—and him—in four years, he would not have invaded Russia. *Four years!* In four years we marched from Pearl Harbor to the heart of what was left of Tokyo and Berlin. In three years we can't yet take a cab from Baghdad to its airport without an armed guard.

Princes and generals do not communicate to the troops what are the high command's private reckonings. The matter of morale is with us in victory, and sometimes even begets victory. It also sanctifies defeat. To have died on behalf of your cause makes possible the mystic conviction that your sacrifice was the marginal contribution. To be dead at defeat permits mourning for gallantry and for faith—My country, do or die.

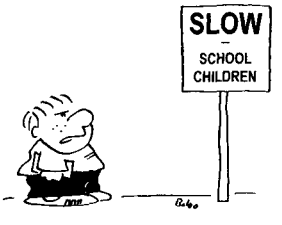
President Bush will be seen commanding his troops to march on. He will speak of victory. One's guess is that there will be attenuation in the definition of victory. Three years ago (March 2003) I wrote in this space, "What Mr. Bush proposes to do is to unseat Saddam Hussein and to eliminate his investments in aggressive weaponry. We can devoutly hope that internecine tribal antagonisms will be subsumed in the fresh air of a despot removed, and that the restoration of freedom will be productive. But these concomitant developments can't be either foreseen by the United States, or implemented by us. What Mr. Bush can accomplish is the removal of a regime and its infrastructure. The Iraqi people will have to take it from there."

The special challenge that Mr. Bush now faces is political. How to pull away leaving the sense of mission accomplished? He has presided over a great deal. The deposition of Saddam, his imprisonment and (never-ending) prosecution; the institution of the working rudiments of democracy. A government. And a continuing effort to train natives to take over policing the rebaptized state.

All of this is marred by shortcomings. Some observers believe them critical, enough so to conclude that the war to change Iraq's society has not been won, and cannot be won without an investment of time and resources we are not willing to make in Iraq. Other challenges loom, in North Korea and in Iran, which will tax us contingently, on a larger scale than the Saddam/Iraq war. These will need to take precedence.

Mr. Bush is entitled to maintain, doggedly and persuasively, that he took the right steps—up through the overthrow of Saddam and the exposure of an armory without weapons of mass destruction. From that point on, the challenge required more than his deployable resources. His political reputation will rest on his success in making that point and ceding realistically to realities we are not going to cope with, and ought not to attempt to cope with.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE




*"That's right—rub it in!"*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# happy warrior

MARK STEYN

## Smaller than Life

YEARS ago, a friend of mine published a book of theatrical anecdotes. You know the sort of thing: Back in the Sixties, Maggie Smith was playing Desdemona to Laurence Olivier's Othello. Larry, as we anecdotalists always call him (I was once on a BBC show where, as the host was winding up the interview with an elderly actress, she protested, "But I haven't told my Larry!")—anyway, Larry objected to Dame Maggie's diction and told her she needed to work on it. The next night, as he was coming out of his dressing room to make his entrance as the Moor, she intoned at him, "How now, brown cow?"

A little of that goes a long way with me. But a week or two after my chum published his anthology a parodically left-wing feminist theater critic wrote an angry piece denouncing the very concept of the "theatrical anecdote" as a sad form of self-loathing by which great artists belittle their own profession. In subordinating the process of artistic creation to the tyranny of the glib and superficially amusing punchline, actors were conspiring to deny the very real pain and courage of what they do. The showbiz anecdote was, in that sense, one of the principal weapons used to diminish the meaning and power of art. Women in particular should have nothing to do with it because the very constraints of the form co-opted them into the bluff hearty maleness of shared jokes.

Well, I was howling with laughter by this stage. It was a lot funnier than any of the theatrical anecdotes. And I thought even at that tender age I'll be lucky ever to come across anything this hilarious again. But this month the *Boston Globe* came close. On the eve of the Oscars they published an essay by Michael Kalin headlined "Why Jon Stewart Isn't Funny."

I assumed this was going to be one of those ill-advised pieces in which a well-meaning conservative points out that 97 percent of Stewart's jokes are pro-liberal. But I'd underestimated the *Globe*. Mr. Kalin was arguing that it was the side-splitting knee-slapping hilariousness of Stewart's liberal gags that was the problem—or, as he put it, "no laughing matter." The "daily dose of political parody" led "our country's most idealistic minds" to perceive "politics as a supply of sophisticated entertainment, rather than as a powerful source of social change." Eschewing a career amid "Washington's daily political squabbles," the typical youthful viewer of Stewart's show instead opted for a job as "an analyst at Morgan Stanley." And, as "our country's most idealistic minds" are (naturally) overwhelmingly Democrat, this was having a devastating impact on the Democratic party. Jon Stewart, charged Mr. Kalin, "undermines" liberal "earnestness."

*Billy Crystal: Now there's an Oscar host.*

Well, I wondered whether this was one of those new advanced-model Rovebots Karl's been working on in his lab. But I reread it and apparently Mr. Kalin means it. After all, watching the show requires "wit, intelligence and self-awareness," so no wonder only 2 percent of the viewers identify as "conservatives." As a result, uncorrupted by Jon Stewart's devastating satire, an unending tide of conservatives give Morgan Stanley the bum's rush and head straight to Washington to continue ruining the country.

Perhaps this accounts for the strategic catastrophe of the Academy Awards 48 hours later. Maybe Jon Stewart was trying to make his pro-Dem jokes less funny and thus less ruinous to the party's prospects. Or maybe the Hollywood crowd were trying to project all that "earnestness" Mr. Stewart is undermining. But, for whatever reason, the jokes bit the dust quicker than Jake Gyllenhaal in that tent up on Brokeback. Stewart told viewers that tonight was a chance to "see all your favorite stars without having to donate any money to the Democratic party." And the Hollywood crowd just sat on their hands. Judging from the chirping crickets, Salma Hayek, Steven Spielberg & Co. were going for a collective Best Sound Effect Oscar.

And, when you bomb at the Oscars, it's like the 9/11 commission. The papers were full of investigative analyses: "What did the emcee know and when did he know it wasn't funny?" I've no wish to intrude on private grief. The Oscars seem to be taking on Henry Kissinger's preferred ending for the Iran/Iraq war: "It's a shame they both can't lose." If liberal comics and liberal celebrities wish to engage in a humorless-Left death match over half a dozen unwatched liberal movies live in primetime every March, who are we to stop them?

However, for what it's worth, here's my take: You can't do an ironic postmodern showbiz awards show. It has to be for real. Whatever you feel about Billy Crystal, the guy means it. He stands there in a tux with full supporting orchestra and belts out some showtune parody, and a lot of years that's not as easy as it looks. 1997? You try being swingin' and showbizzy about Ralph Fiennes in *The English Patient*. Or Brenda Blethyn in *Secrets and Lies*. But Crystal has the size of the event. Incisive as he might be at 1 in the morning on Channel 112, Stewart's shtick boils down to *Honey, I Shrunk the Oscars*. There's no future in that. Like all other "reinventions" of the show, it just made it worse.

And, oddly enough, the Oscar bust made me rethink that *Boston Globe* thesis. Michael Kalin mocked George W. Bush's "folksy solemnity," which I think equates to the smart TV journalist's criticism of Crystal: the guy's pre-ironic. But he has the size of the times. Just as Dems are all process and no ideas, so fellows like Chris Rock and Jon Stewart are all form and no content. In Washington as in Hollywood, the Left seem smaller than life. **NR**

GUIDO OHLENBOSTEL/ACTION PRESS/ZUMA



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Today, many shareholders are satisfied if their mutual fund performs well, regardless of what stocks it owns. Is that good enough for you?

If you want more from your investments, consider Ave Maria Mutual Funds. Our fund family has distinguished itself by placing equal emphasis on investment performance and moral values. Over the years, we've delivered market-beating performance without owning companies that support abortion, pornography or non-marital partner benefits.

Why settle for less? Join thousands of shareholders who've chosen Ave Maria Mutual Funds. Contact us today for an investor kit at **1-866-AVE-MARIA** (1-866-283-6274) or visit **avemariafunds.com**.

| INVESTMENT PERFORMANCE Thru 12/31/05 | 1-Year | 3-Years (ANNUALIZED) | Since Inception 5/1/01 (ANNUALIZED) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Ave Maria Catholic Values Fund** AVEMX | **5.79%** | **19.87%** | **11.11%** |
| S&P 500 Index | 4.91% | 14.39% | 1.40% |
| S&P 400 Midcap Index | 12.56% | 21.15% | 9.27% |

AVE MARIA MUTUAL FUNDS

## Smart Investing and Catholic Values

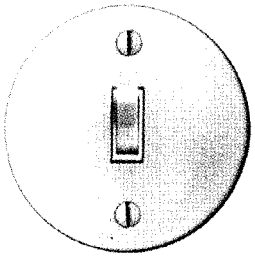
***Performance data quoted represents past performance, which is no guarantee of future results.*** *Investment return and principal value are historical and may fluctuate so that redemption value may be worth more or less than the original cost. Current performance may be lower or higher than what is quoted. Visit avemariafunds.com or call toll-free 1-866-AVE-MARIA for most recent month-end performance. Performance can be affected by market and investment style risk. The Fund's investments in small and mid capitalization companies could experience greater volatility than investments in large capitalization companies. The investment performance above assumes reinvestment of dividends and capital gains. Performance data reflects certain fee waivers and reimbursements. Without such waivers, performance would have been lower. The S&P 500 Index is a capitalization weighted unmanaged index of 500 widely traded stocks, created by Standard & Poor's, and considered to represent the performance of the stock market in general. The S&P Midcap 400 is an unmanaged index of 400 companies, created by Standard & Poor's and is the most widely used index for mid-sized companies. Indexes do not incur fees and it is not possible to invest directly in an index.*

***Prospective investors should read the prospectus carefully and consider the Funds' investment objectives, risks, charges and expenses carefully before investing. The prospectus, which can be obtained by calling 1-866-AVE-MARIA or online at avemariafunds.com, contains this and other information. Distributed by Ultimus Fund Distributors, LLC.***

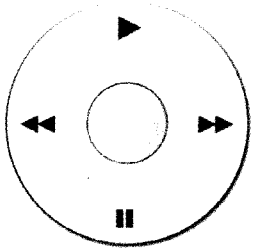
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ENERGY FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

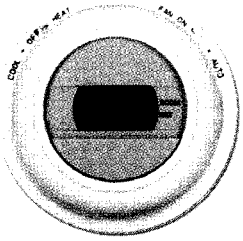
# COAL



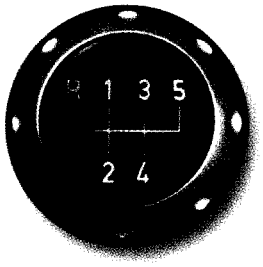
Flip a switch.



Play a tune.



Warm your home.




Fuel your car.

## Yeah... coal can do that.

Today, coal fuels more than 50% of U.S. electricity. America has the largest coal reserves in the world... and greater use of this clean and affordable fuel can reduce our reliance on foreign oil and liquefied natural gas.

Peabody Energy (NYSE: BTU) is the world's largest provider of coal to fuel 21st Century energy solutions.

Peabody

CoalCanDoThat.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED